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JACQUES CARTIER

A MEMOIR OF

JACQUES CARTIER

SIEUR DE LIMOILOU

HIS VOYAGES TO THE ST. LAWRENCE

A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND A FACSIMILE OF
THE MANUSCRIPT OF 1534
WITH ANNOTATIONS,
ETC.

BY

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A. M., LITT. D.

AUTHOR OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES AND HIS PROVINCE
OF MAINE ; THE PIONEERS OF NEW FRANCE IN
NEW ENGLAND ; THE BRITISH INVASION
FROM THE NORTH, ETC.

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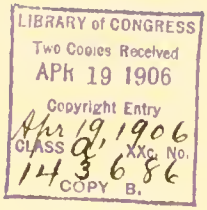

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PREFACE

IT is to be ever regretted that so much concerning Jacques Cartier and his work has perished. Of his first voyage of discovery English readers possessed for nearly three centuries only a translation from the Italian Ramusio's work of 1556, made by Jean Florio. This English translation was printed in London in 1580. Sixty-four years passed after this famous voyage before Cartier's own countrymen could read an account of it in their own tongue; then, in 1598, appeared the edition of Raphael du Petit Val. In 1600 appeared Hakluyt's account of the voyage, which was subsequently reprinted by Pinkerton and Churchill in their collection of voyages, and this is the version heretofore known to English readers. Lescarbot, in his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1612, gives a relation of Cartier's voyages mingled with those of Champlain, and this is the account best known to Frenchmen.

In 1867 an important discovery was made in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris, of an ancient manuscript which proved to be a relation of Cartier's first voyage, differing considerably from the other versions, and bearing evidence of being the original account as related by the great discoverer himself. This was printed literatim the same year by MM. Michelant and Ramé, and denominated the "Rela-

tion Originale du Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada, en 1534."

My interest in French history, and especially in that part of it relating to the North American continent, having led me to a particular study of the several accounts of Cartier's voyage of 1534, I was convinced that an English translation of the "Relation Originale" should be made, and that the work might be made as accurate as possible, I procured, through the kind offices of Mr. Henry Vignaud, our assistant secretary of legation at Paris, a photographic copy of the original manuscript. The age of this precious document cannot be questioned. It is unmistakably an excellent example of the peculiar handwriting of the early part of the sixteenth century, and although I wholly differ with some enthusiastic writers, who, on the dawn of its discovery, hailed it as the veritable production of Cartier's pen, I do not doubt that it is his own account of the voyage, in part if not in whole. The marks of his personality are frequently visible in the text; at one time in the use of the personal pronoun; at another, in a modest attempt to avoid obtrusiveness; and at all times in the use of sea terms familiar among Malouin seamen, which at least show it to be a personal narrative. Note the use of the pronoun: "I named this island Sainct Katherine"; "I consider"; "I did not see a cart-load of earth"; "I landed in many places"; etc. Mentioning the naming of a harbor, "It was named the haven Jacques Cartier." Is not this the natural expression of a modest man, who did not care to make himself conspicuous? Had it been written by one of Cartier's men, would he have dis-

missed the matter so summarily? Would he not have added that it was so named in honor of the captain?

After translating the "Relation Originale" of 1534, it seemed to me best to translate the second and most important of Cartier's voyages.

In 1545 the account of Cartier's second voyage was published in Paris, under the title of the "Bref Récit," and in 1556 it was translated into Italian and published at Venice by Ramusio in his "Navigationi et Viaggi."

In 1580 it was published in London in connection with the first voyage, in a translation from Ramusio by Jean Florio, as already mentioned, and also, in 1600, by Hakluyt. As in the case of the first voyage, English readers have derived their knowledge of the second from Hakluyt.

Of the "Bref Récit," published in 1545, during Cartier's life, but a single copy is known to be in existence. This copy is in the British Museum, and a reprint of it in French was made at Paris in 1863 by the Librairie Tross under the editorship of M. d'Avezac.

Of this second voyage there exist three contemporary manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, numbered 5589, 5644, and 5653, which vary but slightly from one another, of which that numbered 5653 was probably used by the ancient editor of the "Bref Récit." A comparison of these manuscripts with the "Bref Récit," besides discrepancies in spelling, which we might expect in copies made at a time when literal accuracy was deemed less important than now, reveals numerous

curious errors and omissions. Not only are many words which appear in the manuscripts found wanting in the printed copy, but words have been added by the editor, and, most surprising of all, two entire chapters, the eleventh and twelfth, have been wholly dropped out. Finding the "Bref Récit" so inadequate for my purpose, I thought best to translate one of the three manuscripts, and selected that numbered 5589, which in some respects I prefer to either of the others, and this I have translated and present to the reader in this volume.

The fragment of the account of the third voyage I have taken from Hakluyt, it being the only version known. The loss of that portion relating to Cartier's experiences during the winter of 1541–2 will ever be keenly regretted by historical students.

As a number of documents of historic value relating to the subject have recently come to light, but lie perdu to English readers in the ancient French, it seemed necessary to translate them into English. This, in order to make my work more complete, I have done, and have added them to the voyages, under the head of "Collateral Documents." That we have any of this interesting material relating to the early French history of Canada is a matter of congratulation, when we consider the vicissitudes to which the archives of France have been subjected. No longer ago than 1815, an official, desiring a room for his secretary, cleared out from their resting-place a vast collection of such material and sent it to "Les épicières de Versailles",[1] and a successor, some years later, adopted this man's

[1] *Le Moniteur,* quoted by Harrisse.

criminal example and sold entire files by weight for his private gain. It seems strange that the voyages of Cartier have been translated only into Italian and English. I was not aware of this until I began to prepare a bibliography of the literature relating to them, but I found, upon application to the principal libraries of Russia, Sweden, Germany, Holland, and Spain, that they possessed only French versions.

In the course of my work the necessity of copious annotations became evident to me. Cartier everywhere speaks of the fauna and flora of the country he had discovered, and notes differences in the tribes he encountered, both in appearance and language. A study, therefore, of the animal and plant life, as well as of the ethnological and lingual peculiarities of the savage peoples, who are known to have inhabited Canada in Cartier's time, became necessary, and especially a study of the cartography of the region covered by Cartier's two voyages. There has been much controversy over the route followed by Cartier in these voyages, and many attempts have been made to identify the places visited by him. The most important work on this subject is that of W. F. Ganong of Smith College, whose cartographical studies of the regions visited by Cartier cannot be too highly praised, and that of Bishop Howley on Cartier's route through the Gulf of St. Lawrence and adjacent waters. While my work in this regard has been independent of these eminent authorities, being based on both cartographical and local study, I am happy to find myself in agreement with them in so many particulars. To both I am under obligations, especially to Mr.

Ganong, who has shown a student's interest in my work.

In my study of Cartier's route, I am under very great obligation to Mr. W. T. Tidmarsh of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, whose expert knowledge and painstaking efforts in the solution of difficult problems have been invaluable to me.

I have also to acknowledge favors from Mr. Frank M. Chapman of the American Museum of Natural History, New York; Mr. Walter Dean of the Museum of Natural History, Cambridge; Mr. Henry Vignaud of the American legation, Paris, and Judge D. W. Prowse of Newfoundland, who have given me valuable information. Above all, am I indebted to Mr. Edward Denham for an index to my work.

James Phinney Baxter.

61 Deering Street,
Portland, Maine,
1905.

MEMOIR OF
JACQUES CARTIER

MEMOIR OF JACQUES CARTIER

THE early history of Canada, which, from what has been preserved, we know to have been full of romantic interest, has been strangely neglected by the French, who do not seem to have regarded the discoveries and adventures of their brave countrymen, who so nobly strove to secure a magnificent domain for their fatherland, as of sufficient importance to demand particular consideration. This neglect has been observed and animadverted upon by recent French writers, especially by M. d'Avezac, who, reflecting upon the discoveries of Jacques Cartier in the ever-memorable voyages which he made to the St. Lawrence early in the sixteenth century, complains that the first voyage of the Breton discoverer has only been preserved to Frenchmen through a translation from an alien tongue.

The history of Cartier's native town is most picturesque. It dates its beginning in 507, when a pious pilgrim by the name of Aaron, with a few enthusiastic disciples, took up his residence upon the rock which was subsequently called Roche d'Aaron, and upon this rock founded the future noted seaport. Twenty-one years later the Bishop of Castle Gwent, who had earned by his piety the title of St. Malo, at the head of a little band of Welsh pilgrims sought refuge with Aaron's people, from whom he received a hospitable welcome. For him the settlement was

subsequently named. This is the tradition of the beginning of the town.[1] From the first the colonists sought their living in the sea; hence they became the most skilful of seamen. In an age which fostered strife and pillage the corsairs of St. Malo won fame for their daring and hardihood, and, later, for their skill and enterprise in exploring distant seas. Such a community might logically be expected to give to the world a great navigator like Jacques Cartier, and, at the same time, to neglect the preservation of those interesting details of his life which one more devoted to letters might treasure.

It is unfortunate, however, that so little of Jacques Cartier's life has come down to us. Ransack as we may the literature of discovery, the archives of his native land, the records of St. Malo, where we might reasonably hope to find much concerning him, since it has the honor of being the place of his nativity and subsequent abode, and we find only the merest fragments of information respecting him; even the date of his birth has been disputed. De Costa and others, who have endeavored to sketch his life, have fixed it in the year 1494, yet we have good reason to believe that he was born three years earlier, namely, in 1491. The proof of this is found in certain affidavits wherein his age is stated. Thus, on January 2d, 1548, he

[1] *Vide* Les Malouins à Terre-Neuve, etc., Harvut, Rennes, 1893. Chevalier, eulogistically describing St. Malo, quotes Jules Janin as follows: "Cet ilot de Saint Malo, fils de l'Ocean, est un véritable navire à l'ancre, bercé par les tempêtes; les arbres ressemblent à des mats qui attendent la vague lointaine. L'air, le ciel, le nuage, le bruit, la nuit, le jour, tout rappelle à Saint Malo, la vue du Matelot des lointaines rivages. Vie du matelot, passion de la mer, amour de l'orage, orgueil de l'écume salée, pêche et bataille, amour, abordage, Honneur à Saint Malo! Ce Vaisseau est assuré par une ancre éternelle qui touche au fond de la mer."

is declared to be fifty-six, on December 23d, 1551, sixty, and on June 6th, 1556, sixty-four years of age.[1] This would make the date of his birth prior to December, 1491. Of his parentage there has also been a difference of opinion; but we may conclude with full assurance that he was the son of Jamet Cartier and Geseline Jansart.[2] Of his youth nothing is known, except that he began a seafaring life at an early period. St. Malo was a prosperous seaport, and the interests of its people were identified with maritime enterprise. The sea which beat at their doors was a vast field, as yet but imperfectly explored, upon whose rich harvests their thoughts were ever centered; hence the mariner's calling was held in high esteem, and he, who excelled in knowledge of the sea and skill in seamanship, won the admiration and honor of his townsfolk.

The birth of Cartier was nearly contemporaneous with the discovery of Columbus, and by the time he was old enough to stray to the wharves of the old town, crowded with its picturesque frequenters and outlandish merchandise, ships were fitting out for long fishing voyages to the New-found-land, of which stranger tales were recounted than even Breton folklore could furnish. It was not strange, then, that the mind of an active youth like Cartier should revel in dreams of adventure, and that he should look to the sea as the proper field in which to exercise his ambition.

The first glimpse that we clearly have of him

[1] Audiences de la Juridiction ordinaire de Saint Malo, 1547; *ibid*, 1552; *ibid*, 1556.

[2] *Vide* Documents Nouveaux recueillis par F. Joüon des Longrais, Paris, 1888, pp. 8–10.

was on the 21st of August, 1510, when, though hardly nineteen years of age, he stood as godfather to Étienne Noüel, son of his sister Jehanne.[1] This was the first of a series of baptisms in which he took part, extending over a period of forty-five years, and numbering at least fifty-three. In twenty-seven of these he appeared as godfather.[2] The predilection, so frequently exhibited for the services of Cartier in this important sacrament, is evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the people of his native town.

Though the curtain has never been lifted from his early life, and is not likely to be, an acquaintance with the life and activities of St. Malo at this period leads us not only to the opinion that he received an education, such as we know the youth of the town who belonged to families in comfortable circumstances were in the habit of receiving, commensurate, it would seem, in this case with the requirements of one who aspired to become a navigator, but also to the further opinion that he took part in some of the fishing voyages which were made to the far-away shores of the New World, gaining thereby that skill in navigation which he afterward so signally exhibited. Among the distinguished families of St. Malo was that of Jacques des Granches, high constable of the town. This family was socially superior to that of Cartier, yet we find him seeking in marriage the hand of Catherine des Granches, apparently without opposition on the part of her parents, which indicates

[1] *Vide* Documents Nouveaux recueillis par F. Joüon des Longrais, Paris, 1888, p. 8.

[2] Registres de l'état civil de Saint Malo.

that he occupied a high position in the estimation of his townsmen. He had now, at the age of twenty-eight, won in the exacting school of experience the title of master pilot, which was one of no mean distinction, especially in a maritime community like that of St. Malo.

Of the life of Cartier for some time after his marriage with Catherine des Granches, which, according to the register, occurred May 2d, 1519,[1] we have no knowledge. There is no doubt that he continued to follow the sea, and, from his frequent mention of Brazil, it is believed that he visited the then almost unknown shores of South America; besides, the baptism, on the 30th of July, 1528, of a "Catherine de Brezil," supposed to be a native of that country, and for whom Catherine des Granches as-

2 Mai 1519.

[1] Récurent la benediction nuptiale Jacques Cartier maistre pillote ès port de Saincte-Malo, fils de Jamet Cartier et de Geseline Jansart, et Marie Katerine Des Granches, fille de Messire Honoré Des Granches, chevalier du Roy nostre Sire et connéstable de la ville et cyté de Sainct Malo.*

*It has been questioned whether this date in the register belongs to the entry. Says Longrais (Documents Nouveaux, p. 11): "On indique constamment 1519 comme date de ce mariage, à cause de la mention 'avril 1519' mise en interligne du Registre des Mariages un peu avant l'inscription de Jacques et de Catherine. Il y a bien des chances cependant, pour qu'il s'agisse d'avril 1520. Car l'année, commencant toujours à Pâques à Saint Malo messire Lancelot Ruffier, vicaire-curé qui enregistrait alors les publications de mariage, ou celui qui a ajouté cette date au Registre, n'a pu inscrire 'Avril 1519,' qu' a partir du 24 avril jour de Pâques de cette année, et s'il eût eu en vue les six derniers jours de ce mois, nous lirions l'annotation ordinaire, *après Pâques*. La date se réfère plutôt au premier jour d'avril appartenant encore à 1519 suivant l'ancien style, mais à 1520, suivant le nôtre. La publication de trois bans signalée au Registre par la marque ordinaire ooo dut commencer ce jour même 1er avril 1520, dimanche des Rameaux, et le mariage avoir lieu après la Quasimodo."

sumed the responsibility of godmother, adds further color to the belief.[1]

Frenchmen were certainly not behind other nations in maritime enterprise. It is claimed that they visited Newfoundland, then supposed to be a part of the eastern coast of Asia, as early as 1504, and we have record of the *Pensée* of Dieppe making the voyage to this far-off land in 1507, and, soon after this date, of others from the same port; namely, the *Bonne-Aventure*, the *Sibille*, the *Michel*, and the *Marie-de-Bonne-Nouvelle*.[2] In 1524, while Francis I was engaged in an exhausting struggle with the emperor, Charles V, Verazzano made his famous voyage of discovery to the New World in the interest of the French king.[3] Three years later no less than eleven Norman ships are known to have visited St. Johns, Newfoundland, and we cannot doubt that the unrecorded voyages to this region were much more

[1] "Le penultime jour dud. moys (juillet 1528), fut baptizée Catherine du Brézil & fut compère noble homme Guyon Jamyn, recteur de Sainct Jagu & commère, Catherine des Granches & Franczoise Le Gobien fille de l'aloué de Sainct Malo; & fut baptizée par Me Lancelot Ruffier, vicaire curé dud, lieu, led, jour & an que dessur, P. Trublet."

This girl is supposed to have been a little savage brought by Cartier from Brazil. His frequent references to that country when speaking of the maize, which he saw in Canada, and of the people, who, he says, held their goods in common, "like the Brazilians," his knowledge of the Portuguese language, which he was called upon by the authorities of St. Malo to exercise when an interpreter was required, coupled with the fact that Francis I organized expeditions to visit Brazil in 1523–4, lend color to the theory that he was familiar with that country. *Vide* Documents Nouveaux, Longrais, p. 15 *et seq.*; Cronica de Jôao III, cited by Harrisse, Revue Critique, 1876, p. 20; Les Malouins à Terre Neuve, etc., Harvut, Rennes, 1893, p. 7.

[2] *Vide* Découverte et Évolution Cartographique, Harrisse, Paris, 1900, p. xxx.

[3] *Vide* Les Voyages de Giovanni Verrazano, Gravier, Rouen, 1898.

numerous than those whose records have been preserved to us.[1] The numerous voyages made to the New World by the French up to this time were all, with the exception of that of Verazzano, private ventures, most of them depending for reimbursement upon fishing, walrus-hunting, and trading for furs with the savages. The French king, had he been ever so warmly interested in voyages of discovery, was for a long time so deeply engaged in war that he could not have given attention to such enterprises; but an interval of peace following the treaty of Cambrai, which was concluded in 1529, enabled him to listen to stories of Western adventure, which, since Verazzano's notable voyage, he had been obliged to disregard. Spain, however, had been pushing her discoveries in the New World, and fabulous stories were circulating throughout Europe of the wealth of her American possessions. From the frozen wastes of the Arctic Ocean to the desolate shores of Terra del Fuego, Spain claimed, or expected eventually to control, everything to be discovered in the Western hemisphere. It is true that she recognized the line of demarcation fixed by the Pope[2] between her prospective possessions and those of

[1] John Rut in 1527 saw in the harbor of St. John twelve French vessels, and several similar instances are recorded. Voyages were often kept secret from motives of prudence.

[2] The bull of Pope Alexander VI, dated May 4, 1493, gave Spain all west and Portugal all east of a meridian one hundred degrees west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, which were assumed to be in the same longitude. On June 7, 1494, by a convention at Tordesillas, it was agreed to move the meridian line to a point three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands. Cf. Les Trois Mondes, Popellinière, Paris, 1582; Examen Critique, Humboldt, vol. iii, p. 52; the Pope's letter in Bibliothèca Américana Vetustissima, Harrisse, Paris, 1872, and Sabin's Dictionary, vol. i, No. 745.

Portugal, but when in the fullness of time Portuguese nationality had been merged in her own, the whole Western world might be hers. She therefore regarded with distaste any attempt on the part of any European nation to trench upon her preserves. France realized this, and, ambitious to share in the advantages which might be derived from Western discovery, Francis I was in a mood to listen to projects of adventure in American waters.

It was now that Philippe Chabot, Sieur de Brion and High Admiral of France, introduced to his master Jacques Cartier, whom he knew as a skilful pilot in foreign waters. It would be interesting to have an account of Cartier's audience with the French king, but we may only imagine it. The Breton pilot, who perhaps had been one of Verazzano's companions, unfolded to his regal listener the fascinating theory, then held by cosmographers, of a waterway to some of the rich ports of India by the West, and painted the possibilities of success so brightly that he won his sanction to conduct a search for it. Cartier believed that he should find by some one of the many openings in the coast in the vicinity of Newfoundland, the long-expected route to the interior of India, the theory being entertained at this time, that Newfoundland was but a projection of the eastern coast of Asia. In this, like so many who followed him, he was in error.

Having enlisted the king in his project, and being actively supported by the high admiral as well as by the vice-admiral, the Sieur de Meilleraye, who personally undertook to supervise the equipment of his ships, it might reasonably be supposed that Cartier's

course would be unobstructed; but such was not the case. At the outset he encountered hostility from those interested in maritime affairs. Some of his opponents were engaged in fishing and trading adventures to the New Land, and did not care to invite competition by having a knowledge of it made public; and others felt that taking so many of the most skilful mariners from the regular service would create a dearth in the market. Therefore not only were active efforts made to dissuade men from enlisting, but they were spirited away and kept beyond Cartier's reach. We therefore find him, on March 19th, 1533, complaining before the Alloué[1] of these acts of obstruction, and praying that the offenders should be enjoined from further interference with the contemplated voyage. Accordingly orders were issued to arrest the ships of the offending parties, and not to suffer their departure until Cartier's crews had been secured. This summary action had the desired effect.[2]

It is unfortunate that we do not possess Cartier's commission from the king, as it might furnish us with some light where obscurity now prevails. We know, however, that he was given the sole command of the expedition, the chief object of which was to search for a Western waterway to India. In accordance with this object, having secured the ser-

[1] *Alloué;* literally, allowers. There is no English word which so nearly describes this ancient official as "accorder." He occupied the second place in a triumvirate, of which the first bore the title of seneschal, and the third lieutenant. He especially passed upon conflicting claims and accounts, and adjusted and accorded what he adjudged to be right to the claimants.

[2] *Vide* Documents Inédits sur Jacques Cartier, Ramé, Paris, 1865, pp. 3–5.

vices of sixty men, who were solemnly sworn by the vice-admiral to serve the king truly and faithfully under their commander, on the 20th of April, 1534, Cartier sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons burden each on the voyage which was to make his name immortal.

After an uneventful voyage of twenty days Newfoundland was sighted, when the ships began to encounter immense fields of ice, which compelled them to seek shelter in a harbor upon which Cartier bestowed the name of St. Catherine. Here, imprisoned by the outgoing ice, he spent ten days in refitting his ships, when he again set sail, continuing his course northward.

The eyes of the voyagers were constantly indulged with novelties. Islands of varied form passed in panoramic view before them, sometimes clustered so closely together that the waters separating them seemed like slender rivulets, which would afford passage only to the smallest skiffs. Some of these islands teemed with wild fowl, which circled about the ships shrieking a mysterious welcome to the daring voyagers, while others, unable to fly, scuttled clumsily away at the approach of danger. They were of many hues and of many kinds, some of strange appearance and difficult to capture.

At one of these islands, which swarmed with aquatic birds, and therefore gained the title of Ile aux Oiseaux, they loaded their boats with four or five tons of the toothsome game, upon which they feasted, salting a quantity for future use.

Nor were the birds the only novelty which they beheld here; for as they gazed in wonder upon these

teeming shores, fringed with moving ice, a huge form of swanlike whiteness flashed through the water. This proved to be a bear, which had swum from the mainland four leagues distant, to pay a predatory visit to the feathered colony, but at an unfortunate time for him, since he soon fell a victim to his more cunning rivals.

It was on the 27th of May when the mouth of the Golfe des Châteaux, adjoining the Strait of Belle Isle, was entered, and here further progress was arrested, for, as far as the eye could reach, numberless ice-floes barred the way, filling the air with strange sounds as they were crushed together in their tumultuous course to the sea; hence Cartier took shelter in an adjacent harbor, which he called Rapont.

Leaving the Golfe des Châteaux, bestowing before he sailed the name of St. Catherine upon a large island therein, he passed through the Strait of Belle Isle and skirted the coast westward, affixing to the islands, harbors, and headlands as they passed before him suggestive names; and on the 10th of June entered a harbor, which, from a fancied resemblance to a port familiar to him in France, he named Port de Brest.

It was now the festival of St. Barnabas, and preparations were made to do honor to that saint. Strangely impressed must the hearts of the pious voyagers have been on that June day in that far-away land, surrounded by objects which their imaginations invested with supernatural attributes, as they engaged in the mysterious service of the Church of Rome.

Leaving the little haven of Brest after their spiritual refreshment and a renewal of their stock of wood and water, they proceeded toward the west, among islands so abundant that they could not name them, and so called them simply Toutes Iles. On one of these they encamped for the night and feasted on the eggs of ducks and other birds, which they found in abundance, and the next day passed on, scattering the names of favorite saints along the way. At Port St. Servan they planted a cross, and at the river St. Jacques their eyes were gladdened by the sight of a great ship which proved to be from Rochelle[1] and manned by their own countrymen.

The country about Blanc Sablon was rocky and forbidding, the fitting home of ferocious beasts; indeed, it presented such a picture of desolation that Cartier thought of Cain, and that this spot of all others might appropriately have been God's gift to the wretched wanderer. The inhabitants, too, tall and gross, and clothed with the skins of beasts, were in harmony with their surroundings — ungovernable and savage; hence it was concluded to turn southward and take a better look at lands which had been descried in that direction.

The 14th of June, which was Sunday, was appropriately devoted to religious services, and the next morning they sailed southward, rounding on the north of Newfoundland a headland which they named Cape Double, when they were enveloped in thick fogs, which shut all objects from view. The fog finally

[1] This shows plainly that the Straits of Belle Isle were known to the French fishermen. The ship from Rochelle had passed through the straits and was found by Cartier in or near Shecatica Bay on the Labrador coast.

lifted, and on the morning of the 17th they passed a group of small round islands, which reminded them of a collection of dove-cotes; hence they named them Colombaires. Shrouded in fogs, baffled by contrary winds and buffeted by tempestuous gales, they sighted on the 24th, a day devoted to the festival of St. John the Baptist, a headland which they named in honor of the saint.

Cartier directed his course northwestwardly, but shortly changed it toward the southwest, passing a group of islands, several of which sprang precipitously from the sea, where the wild fowl were as thick as meadow-grass. To these islands Cartier applied the name Margaux, after a species of birds found there, of which his men took over a thousand. Soon another island, large and of paradisiacal beauty, opened upon the voyagers' view, adorned with magnificent trees and blooming meads, fields of wild grain, and peas as fine as any in Brittany, and seeming as if planted by the hand of man, while all the air was sweet with the odor of roses and blossoming grapes. About the shores of shining sand which environed this charming isle, as if to guard it from intrusion, monsters of bovine grandeur, with gleaming tusks of ivory, slept, or disported themselves in the adjacent waters, and from sheltering thickets wild beasts ever and anon peered furtively at them. Such was Ile de Brion in the time of Cartier.

Saints' days were numerous, and furnished the pious Breton with names for the principal places of interest which he discovered, and so he had another to bestow upon the point of Grindstone Island, which he called St. Pierre, and yet another for the bight be-

tween Prince Edward Island and the New Brunswick shore, which he named Golfe St. Lunaire. The measureless forests of trees of every sort which met his gaze, and which gave fragrance to the offshore breezes, excited his admiration. In the Golfe St. Lunaire they were of immense size, and, Cartier saw, would be of inestimable value to the marine service of France.

On July 4th a haven was entered and named St. Martin, and on the 6th, which was Sunday, having said mass, he took one of his boats and went to view a headland which appeared in the distance, when he was surprised by a host of savages in canoes, who, with noisy demonstrations, swarmed about his boat in such numbers that he thought it prudent to frighten them away by firing a gun over their heads, which produced the desired effect. Subsequently, however, he made friends with the principal chief by bestowing upon his naked majesty the appropriate present of a hat, which, like a French dandy's of the time, was red.

The wind being unfavorable, Cartier kept his vessel moored in the harbor of St. Martin, and passed several days exploring the waters beyond, where he found a bay in which the heat was so oppressive that he applied to it the title of Bay de Chaleur. The natives whom he encountered here were friendly and disposed to traffic, being probably Micmacs, who found here their summer fishing-grounds. Doubtless they were familiar with the St. Lawrence, but they did not reveal to him the entrance to that noble river, the discovery of which would have gladdened his heart.

The adventurers were charmed with the country

which they here beheld; warmer than Spain and surpassingly beautiful; bearing wild wheat barbed like rye, with kernels like oats, peas in profusion, pale and purple gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries, red roses and other pleasant flowers, with meadows rich with grass and broad lakes teeming with salmon — indeed, another Eden.

Leaving Port St. Martin on the 12th, the ships encountered heavy winds and were forced to return, seeking refuge at the mouth of a little stream, where, beset by thick fogs and heavy gales, one of the ships came near being wrecked by the parting of her cable. Here Cartier encountered a miserable tribe of savages, of a different race from those hitherto seen, engaged in taking mackerel in hempen nets. Although they had no furs to give in return he made them presents, which they received with almost delirious joy. At this point Cartier for the first time introduces us to the maize, which he denominates millet as large as peas, and even chats of figs, as well as nuts, pears, apples, and other fruits with which the country abounded.

On the morning of July 24th, having reached Gaspé, a cross thirty feet long was raised bearing a shield adorned with fleurs-de-lis, and inscribed, "Vive le Roy de France." Around the cross with joined hands knelt the adventurers, regarded with astonished wonder by the natives. Returning to the ships, they were followed by the old chief with his three sons and brother, who made Cartier understand by signs that the country belonged to them. Luring them on board his ship, Cartier seized two of the chief's sons, giving him to understand that he wished to take

them with him. To pacify them he made them presents, and informed the chief that he would return with his sons, and that the cross was to show them the entrance to the harbor. The old chief and his brother having returned to land and informed the people of the matter, with touching eagerness they paddled to the ship to bid their departing friends good-by. The next day, with a good wind, Cartier set sail, and on the 27th celebrated the festival of St. Louis on a cape, which he named after the saint. In crossing to the southerly shore of Anticosti Cartier had almost stumbled upon the discovery of the St. Lawrence.

Coasting the southerly shore of Anticosti and passing Fox Point, Cartier caught a glimpse of the Labrador coast to the north, which, owing to head winds, he could not approach with his ships. He therefore set out in boats to explore it, barely avoiding the loss of one of his boats, which struck upon a rock. The boisterous weather, forerunner as he knew of autumnal gales, furnished a strong argument against a further prosecution of his search westward, and, after consulting his principal mariners, he determined to turn his ships homeward. He was now in the strait between Anticosti and Labrador, which he named the Strait of St. Pierre, and which no doubt he imagined might conduct him to the passage he so much desired to discover, but which he could not follow up with safety. To abandon his search was no doubt a bitter disappointment to him, but, with a determination to return and explore it at some future time, he prepared to return home, and on the 15th of August, Assumption Day, having

held a solemn mass, he sailed from Blanc Sablon, having westerly winds, which bore him and his heroic companions prosperously to St. Malo, which they reached on September 5th.

The glowing accounts of the new lands which Cartier and his companions spread abroad were listened to with eagerness. Even the blasé Francis heard the recital of the adventures of his bold subjects with sufficient interest to bestir himself to give Cartier a new commission to continue his Western explorations. Three ships were assigned him for the purpose, the *Grande Hermine*, the *Petite Hermine*, and the *Emerillon*, the first being a tall ship of one hundred and twenty-six tons burden, and the others of sixty and forty tons respectively.

Cartier was fortunate in having the friendship of the high and, especially, of the vice-admiral, as the latter actively interested himself in forwarding the preparations for the expedition, of which the king appointed Cartier commander-in-chief. His demand for men, however, was not responded to with alacrity. It is probable that enlistments were discouraged, as before, by those who supposed that their interests might be unfavorably affected by the proposed voyage, or by the withdrawal of so many able seamen from their accustomed employment. His commission was dated the last day of October, 1534, and we find him before the Alloué of St. Malo on the 8th of the following February, asking for its official publication by the court, which was done.

The fact that Cartier's ships were equipped and provisioned for fifteen months reveals to us plainly the king's intention. Cartier's experience had taught

him that beyond finding a waterway to Indian ports by the northwest, the acquisition of the New Land, a portion of which he had beheld, would be of lasting benefit to France; hence, in addition to continuing his search for an opening to India, he proposed to remain in the country for the winter in order to prosecute more thoroughly its exploration. The two natives, whom he had taken home with him, and with whom he could now communicate in his own tongue, would aid him in his intercourse with the savage tribes which he might encounter, and enable him to acquire a knowledge not only of the coast, but of the interior of the country as well. His views, we see, were adopted by the king.

On the 16th of May, 1535, the cathedral bell of St. Malo summoned the people to the celebration of Easter, an event this year of unusual interest, since in it the company of adventurers, who were to brave the perils of a voyage to the marvelous outlands of the Occident, were to participate.

With awed hearts Cartier and his companions, among whom were several noblemen and the two Indians captured on the previous voyage, gathered at the confessional and received the farewell benediction of the bishop, many of them for the last time, and, taking leave of friends, on the 19th they left the frowning walls of St. Malo behind. Unlike his former experience, Cartier encountered perils in his path at the outset of his voyage. Storms gathered about his ships and hindered their progress, and then a furious tempest burst upon them and scattered them abroad. It was not until July 7th that the *Grande Hermine* reached Bird Island. On the 15th Cartier

entered the port of Blanc Sablon, the place appointed for a rendezvous in case the ships were separated, where, to his great joy, he was joined by the other ships on the 26th.

Cartier at once set about getting everything ready to prosecute explorations, and on the 29th, at daybreak, his ships were under way. Continuing westward, scattering the names of saints along his path, Cartier entered St. Peter's Strait, where familiar objects began to meet the eyes of the captive Indians who accompanied him, and they eagerly pointed out the way into Canada. They told him of the Saguenay, from which came the precious red copper; of the great river and the populous town upon its banks, of which, perhaps, he heard for the first time. They were again in their own country and nearing their kindred, whom they were anxious to greet and regale with the wonders which they had beheld in France. Cartier, however, before exploring the highway to Canada, resolved to examine the coast to the north, hoping to find in that direction the long-dreamed-of gateway to Cathay.

Passing harbor and headland, island, mountain, meadow and forest, entering a river abounding with sea-horses, but disappointed in his search, he resolved to pursue the path to Hochelaga, and soon found himself in the great river of Canada, since known as the St. Lawrence. Passing up this noble waterway, he turned aside to look into the forbidding gorges of naked rock from which great trees sprang cloudward, as vigorous and bright of verdure as if planted in the richest meadows. Here he encountered four canoes filled with savages engaged in fishing, who avoided

their strange visitors until reassured by the voices of Cartier's Indian captives.

Leaving the gloomy Saguenay Cartier continued up the river, coming to an island whose shores were frequented by *adhothuys*, marine monsters of marvelous appearance, as white as snow without a stain, and with heads like greyhounds. This island abounded with the hazel, then loaded with unripe nuts; hence he named it Ile aux Coudres.

The next day, which was the 7th of September, Cartier, after hearing mass, left the Island of Filberts and pursued his course up the river, again meeting with natives, who fled at his approach until reassured by hearing the call of Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, his two captives, when they returned and supplied the ships with eels and other fish, maize, and large melons. On the 8th twelve boats appeared, and with them Donnacona, the lord of Canada, who, with six of his men, visited one of the ships and examined it with curiosity. To Taignoagny's and Dom Agaya's recital of the marvels which they had beheld in France they listened with childish delight, and expressed their satisfaction by kissing the arms of Cartier and embracing him. This expression of good will was returned by Cartier, who feasted them on bread and wine.

As the season was advancing, Cartier began to think of winter quarters for his ships, designing nevertheless to explore the river to Hochelaga before winter set in. He therefore left his ships at anchor near a large island, and, taking the flood-tide, rowed up the river in his boats looking for a safe harbor in which to lay up his ships for the winter. Near Stadaconé

such a harbor was found, and, in honor of the day, he bestowed upon it the title of St. Croix.

His intercourse with the natives of Stadaconé was most agreeable. They not only warmly welcomed the adventurers, but lavished upon them attentions almost oppressive. Attracted by the beauty of the island near which his ships were moored, Cartier took his boats and went to examine it. This island was large and beautiful, covered with wide-spreading trees interlaced with grape-vines now loaded with fruit. As though he deemed it too cheerful and inspiriting to associate with a saint, he named it after the jolly pagan deity, Bacchus, and, returning to his ships, sailed on the 13th to the harbor of St. Croix, which he entered the day following. Here he again met Donnacona with Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, who had joined their people and now displayed an unwillingness to visit the ships. Cartier desired them to accompany him to Hochelaga, to which they replied evasively.

Cartier at once set about planting buoys in the harbor and making preparations to lay up his ships for the season. On the 16th Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, Cartier's ci-devant captives, appeared with about five hundred people, including women and children. Taignoagny informed Cartier that Donnacona desired him not to ascend the river, and that the passage was dangerous. Cartier, however, told him that he must obey the commands of his king, and that if Taignoagny would fulfil his promise to accompany him he would make him a valuable present. To this the distrustful Indian paid no heed and peremptorily declined to guide him to

Hochelaga. Evidently desirous, however, to maintain friendship, Donnacona and his people appeared the next day, and Taignoagny presented Cartier with a young girl about ten years of age and two little boys as a pledge of friendly alliance, the acceptance of which would be a token that Cartier was not to go to Hochelaga; to which the persistent Breton replied that rather than relinquish the enterprise he would return the children. Dom Agaya here interposed and assured Cartier that the gift was altogether a pledge of affection and confidence. After making presents to the chiefs, Cartier, at the request of his former captives, fired his cannon for the amusement of the natives, which caused great astonishment and consternation among them.

Bent upon preventing Cartier from passing up the river, probably from jealousy of the Hochelagans and a desire to monopolize the strangers, the Stadeconeans devised a ruse to intimidate Cartier. Suddenly three demons appeared in a boat to the eyes of the astonished Frenchmen, emissaries of the Indian god Cudouagni, and, shortly after, Cartier's two captives appeared from the wood with joined hands, uttering cries to Jesus and Mary. Upon being interrogated as to the cause of their distress, they informed Cartier that the demons who had appeared came from Cudouagni to warn him that he must not go to Hochelaga, and would perish in the attempt. At this Cartier laughed and told them that his priests had spoken with his God, and that he would find good weather and be protected; upon which the two Indians withdrew, and, after conferring with the people, they all appeared and artfully expressed joy

to learn that their friends would have a prosperous journey, but still refused to accompany them.

On the 19th of September Cartier set out for Hochelaga with the *Emerillon* and two boats. Enchanting prospects met the eyes of the adventurers at every turn. Magnificent trees in great variety fringed the shores of the mighty river, their limbs wreathed with sinuous vines thick with clusters of purpling grapes, embowering with their bright leafage the rustic dwellings of the natives scattered along the way, while the forest glades were melodious with the songs of innumerable birds.

The people, whom they encountered as they went on, welcomed them with joyous demonstrations of friendship, bringing them presents of food and regarding them with admiring awe. One man, in the exuberance of his admiration, even presented Cartier with two of his children, one of whom, a girl of seven or eight years of age, he accepted.

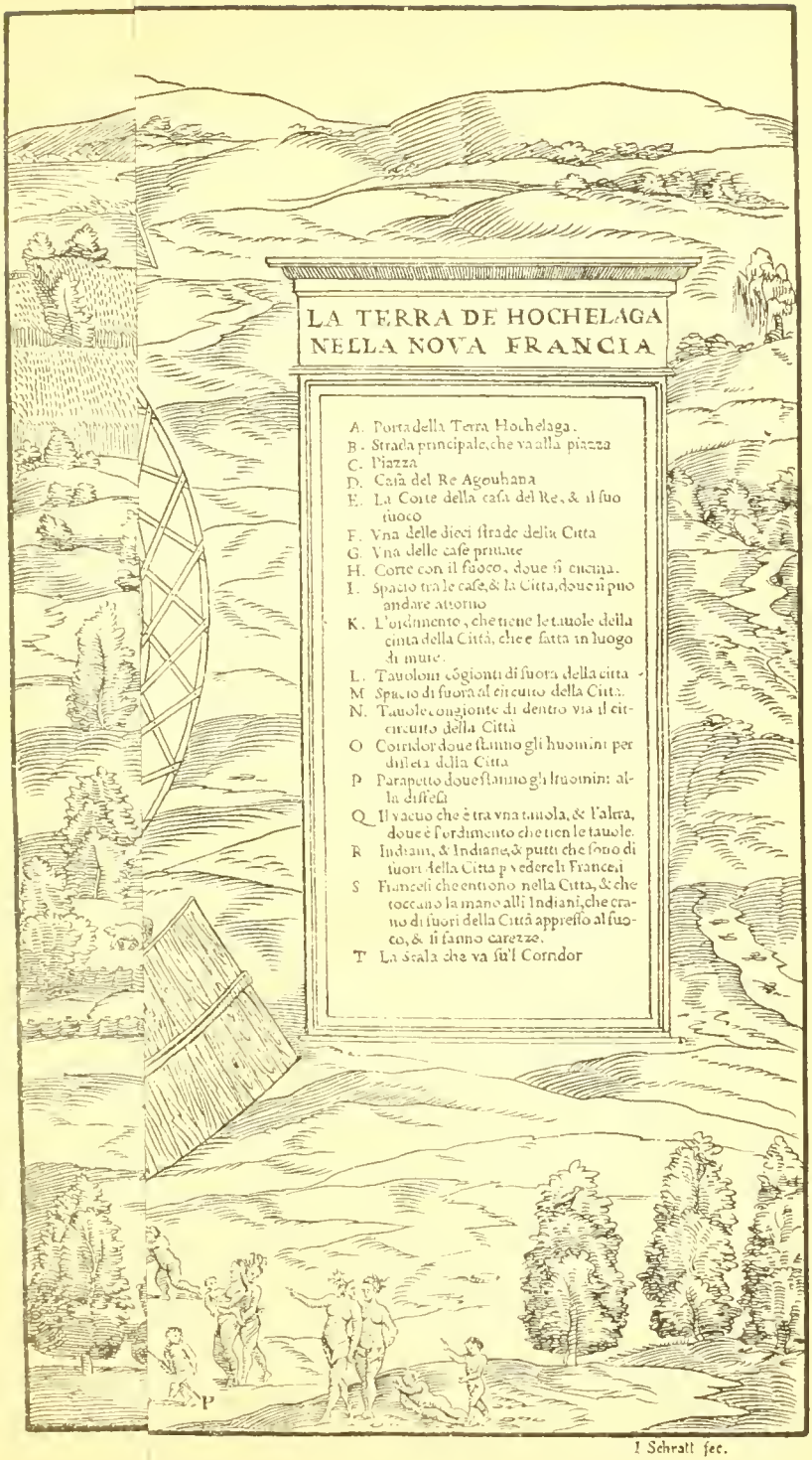
On the 28th[1] the adventurers, who had found the river broadening as they ascended, entered a great lake, which they discovered, upon crossing, offered no way of egress. While searching for a passage in their boats they encountered a hunting party, who welcomed them in a most friendly manner, and one mighty man, to show his good will, bore the doughty navigator ashore in his arms as if he had been an infant. Finding it impracticable to proceed farther with the *Emerillon*, Cartier fitted out his boats, and, loading them with all the provisions possible, continued his journey with some of the gentlemen who had accompanied him, and twenty-eight mariners.

[1] In the Bref Récit the date is the 18th, which is manifestly an error.

The party, consisting in all of thirty-five men, proceeded up the river, being received everywhere by the natives, whom they encountered, with hearty demonstrations of friendship, which Cartier recognized by bestowing upon them various trifling articles, which they prized highly. On the second day of October Cartier was met by the people of Hochelaga, who came flocking to the shore to the number of more than a thousand to welcome their strange visitors. Separating into groups, the men, women, and children each by themselves, they danced upon the leafy banks like fauns and dryads of antique fable, and then showered upon their visitors presents of fish, and bread made of maize.

Pleased with their generous reception Cartier landed with his men, who were soon surrounded by the wondering natives, by whom they were regarded with admiring awe, the women bringing their infants to touch them as though they were celestial visitants. Cartier, deeply impressed with their simple kindness, had the women seat themselves in order, and then presented them with bright trinkets of tin. To some of the men he gave knives,—precious treasures in their sight,—and then retired to his boats for the night, followed to the river's brink by the impulsive natives, who built bonfires along the shore and danced and shouted the livelong night.

In the morning Cartier, after arraying himself becomingly, proceeded on foot for a couple of leagues, with a party of his companions, by a well-beaten road bordered by splendid oaks then shedding their nuts, when Hochelaga, reposing at the foot of a fair mountain, burst upon his vision. About the


LA TERRA DE HOCHELAGA
NELLA NOVA FRANCIA
A. Porta della Terra Hochelaga.
B. Strada principale, che va alla piazza
C. Piazza
D. Casa del Re Agouhana
E. La Corte della casa del Re, & il suo fuoco
F. Vna delle dieci strade della Citta
G. Vna delle case priuate
H. Corte con il fuoco, doue si cuocina.
I. Spacio tra le case, & la Citta, doue si può andare attorno
K. L'ordimento, che tiene le tauole della cinta della Città, che e fatta in luogo di mure.
L. Tauoloni cõgionti di fuora della citta
M Spacio di fuora al circuito della Citta.
N. Tauole congionte di dentro via il circuito della Città
O Corridor doue stanno gli huomini per difesa della Citta
P Parapetto doue stanno gli huomini alla difesa
Q Il vacuo che è tra vna tauola, & l'altra, doue è l'ordimento che tien le tauole.
R Indiani, & Indiane, & putti che sono di fuori della Citta p vedere li Francesi
S Francesi che entrono nella Citta, & che toccano la mano alli Indiani, che erano di fuori della Città appresso al fuoco, & si fanno carezze.
T La scala che va su'l Corridor

I Schratt fec.

town stretched fields of maize, yellowing for the harvest. The houses were long, composed of timber, and divided into rooms with lofts above for the storage of grain and other fruits. In "great vessels like tuns" was kept the fish which had been smoked during the summer for winter's use. Like many other Indian tribes of North America, the Hochelagans used no salt whatever in their food, which comprised game and fish, maize, beans, peas, pumpkins, cucumbers, and wild fruits.

Guided by some of the excited and joyous natives to an open space in the center of the village, all the people, young and old, at once hurried to look upon the white-faced strangers, who seemed to have come from another world. The women wept for joy at their coming and held up their children to be touched by them.

After a short time the men caused the women to retire, and, placing the strangers in their midst, sat down. Immediately after several women appeared with mats, which they spread upon the ground for their guests to sit upon, and then the king, Agouhanna, borne upon the shoulders of several of his men, was brought and placed beside Cartier.

Though but about fifty years of age, the king was paralyzed in his lower limbs, and, believing the strangers to be superior beings, he removed from his own brow the symbol of royalty, composed of porcupine quills, and placed it upon the head of Cartier, exhibiting his useless limbs, that haply they might be restored to their pristine vigor. Soon all the sick and disabled people of the village were brought to Cartier to be healed.

Moved with pity at the sight, Cartier read to them from the Gospel of St. John, made the sign of the cross over the sick, and prayed devoutly that they might come to a knowledge of the true faith and have bestowed upon them grace to receive the sacrament of baptism. Two hours were spent in reading the passion of Christ to the astonished natives, to which they listened with silent attention, looking up to heaven and imitating the ceremonies which they beheld.

After the service, arranging the men, women, and children in separate groups, Cartier made them presents; to the men hatchets and knives, to the women paternosters and other trifles, while among the children he tossed little rings and pewter lambs in the form of the Agnus Dei; then he caused his trumpets to sound, which moved them to demonstrations of delight. As he took leave of these simple folk, the women brought fish, vegetables, and other food, which they pressed the strangers to accept. These were declined, but an invitation to ascend the mountain overlooking the village was accepted. From this mountain Cartier and his companions looked out over a wide prospect glowing with autumnal splendors, so grand that it inspired him to call the mountain from which he beheld it Mont Royal. As he gazed with admiring eyes over the vast prospect spread about him, and strove with strained vision to penetrate the great West, extending he knew not whither, and teeming with mysteries which thought could not compass, the most active imagination would fail to realize that the little Indian village at his feet would fade away, and in its place

would one day arise a mighty city pulsing with human life, and musical with the hum of beneficent industry; or that the great West beyond the reach of his vision would teem with wealth and population far beyond those of the France he deemed so grand and mighty, and, yet more, that by that splendid pathway the India of his dreams would at last be reached.

Leaving the village, which was surrounded with palisades supporting a gallery supplied with stones for defense, Cartier took leave of the natives, who parted from him sorrowfully, and set out on his return to St. Croix, which he reached on October 11th. Here he found that during his absence his men had erected a strong fort and made preparations for the winter. Donnacona and his people expressed joy at his safe return and invited him to visit Stadaconé. He found the dwellings there comfortable and well stocked with provisions, and saw numerous scalps taken by the Stadaconeans from their enemies, who had made an incursion into their country from the south and met with defeat.

The winter in the wilderness proved severe. Not only were the adventurers constantly exposed to danger from the natives, whose treachery they feared, but a deadly disease threatened to destroy them all. Litanies and psalms, vows of pilgrimages, and the erection of an image of the Virgin did not arrest its progress, and one by one they languished and died; finally they listened to the Indians, who were afflicted with the same disease, and made a tea of the bark of a tree called by them *amedda*, which relieved them and stopped the ravages of the disease.

The balmy breath of spring was felt at last by the

weary adventurers. The ice in the river began to break up and move toward the sea, buds began to swell, and the voices of birds to chime in the woods.

The 3d of May, Holy-rood Day, came, and Cartier reared a cross and inscribed it with the royal name and title, *Franciscus primus, Dei gratia Francorum rex regnat*, and began to make preparations for departure. Before sailing, Cartier managed to secure the king, Donnacona, as well as his former captives, Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, with several others, and to imprison them on board his ship, to the great consternation of the people, who came about the ships and exhibited their grief by loud cries. In vain they offered presents to Cartier, hoping for the release of their king. All they could obtain was a promise, that after visiting the King of France he should return to them.

Cartier permitted Donnacona to converse with his friends, which somewhat pacified them, and soon after a canoe shot out from the shore and approached the ship. It was loaded with provisions to cheer the royal captive, and was propelled by four women, who courageously undertook the duty of conveying to him a parting gift, the men not daring to communicate with the ships for fear of capture.

On the 5th of May the ships drew out of the harbor of St. Croix and dropped down to the Isle of Filberts, where, owing to tempestuous weather, Cartier was delayed until the 16th. During this time a party of Donnacona's people, on their way home from a hunting expedition to the Saguenay, appeared and were greatly astonished to learn from Dom Agaya, who was permitted to speak to them, that their king

was a captive on Cartier's ship. Upon being assured that he would return to them in twelve months they were pacified, and, to cheer him in his captivity, generously sent him a present of three bales of furs, the fruit of their toilsome expedition, and, most precious perhaps of all, a knife of red copper from the Saguenay. Upon his captor also, as if to conciliate him, they bestowed a present of wampum, which they so highly prized, and, doubtless with many forebodings, saw the ships depart, bearing to an unknown land their king never to return.

Encountering tempestuous weather Cartier was delayed, and it was not until the 19th of June that he left Cape Race and pushed out into the Atlantic. Although so early in the season, he saw several French and English ships already on the coast of Newfoundland in search of fish.

On July 6th, 1536, Cartier ended his eventful voyage at the port of St. Malo, which was suggestive to him of Paradise at the end of the voyage of life.

A NEW dominion across the seas, a country of illimitable extent, of inestimable wealth, the home of a vast population which might be brought under the sway of the Roman Church and made subservient to French interest—such was the dream of enthusiasts, who eagerly listened to the recital of Cartier's adventures. But the time was unpropitious for exploring the Western seas for paths to the wealthy cities of the Orient, or for founding costly colonies in new lands. Francis was too busily occupied with affairs at home to undertake enterprises abroad. Charles V of Spain had invaded his kingdom and threatened

the stability of his throne. Nor was this all; Chabot, Cartier's once powerful patron, had lost his influence with the king, and so the enthusiastic navigator and his companions descanted upon the New Land, its beauty and grandeur, its vegetable and mineral wealth, its strange animals and savage men, without result. Thus the years passed. Cartier, however, by the skill and daring which he had exhibited in his voyages to unknown lands, had won a position of influence in his native town, in whose affairs he was often called upon to take part.

On June 15th, 1538, a truce was agreed upon between the kings of France and Spain, which enabled Francis I to turn his attention to the discoveries of Cartier, which had excited wide-spread interest in France, whose jealousy of Spain's ever-growing maritime power was quite as acute as it was in England. Francis I hated and dreaded his Spanish rival. To the Venetian ambassador he said: "That I eagerly desire to see the Turk powerful and ready for war, I cannot deny; not on his own account, for he is an infidel, and we are all Christians, but in order to cripple the power of the emperor; to force him into great expense, and to give all other governments security against an enemy so great."[1] Especially was Francis jealous of Spain's threatened possession of the entire Western hemisphere; for, not content with the better portion of it assigned her by the Pope, she was reaching out to clutch Portugal's share; hence he was eager to get a foothold for France in the lands visited by Cartier.

Why he ignored Verazzano's discoveries and made

[1] *Vide* History of France, Guizot, vol. iv, p. 129.

no attempt to possess the more genial region about the mouth of the Hudson instead of the frigid shores of the St. Lawrence, cannot be explained, unless he felt that he would be more secure in the less accessible region, or was better acquainted and more deeply impressed with the discoveries of Cartier. Be that as it may, as soon as peace was assured we find him warmly entering into schemes for colonizing Canada. He had seen Donnacona and the other natives brought by Cartier from Canada, and conversed with them about the wonders of their far-away home in his own language, which Thevet avows they spoke quite well—"assez bien."[1] Upon these men Cartier depended to facilitate his intercourse with their countrymen, and believed that having been instructed in the "holy law" they would more easily induce the other people of those countries to believe in one "holy faith," a desideratum never to be lost sight of. Unfortunately, when the prospect was opening for them to return to their home and friends, they all died but one girl about ten years old.[2] What caused their death is not stated, but probably consumption, a disease to which natives of high latitudes are particularly predisposed when introduced to the enervating luxuries of civilization. In spite of this severe blow to his scheme of colonizing Canada, the king, says Hakluyt, "resolved to send the sayd Cartier thither again."

[1] *Vide* Cosmographie Universelle, Thevet, tome ii, p. 1013.

[2] This was the little girl given by the chief of Achelaiy to Cartier when on his way to Hochelaga. It would seem probable that Cartier took her with him on his third voyage, as she would be the only medium of intercourse between him and the natives. Nothing in the narrative, however, indicates this.

At this time Jean François de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, whom Francis playfully denominated "the petty King of Vimeux," was high in his esteem, and, being a man of energy and influence, was available for the undertaking. Emulous of the honors which he might achieve thereby, Roberval entered warmly into the scheme of planting a colony on the St. Lawrence, and was rewarded, not only with a royal grant of the land discovered by Cartier, but with the sonorous appellatives of "Lord of Norumbega, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay and Baccalaos."[1] He was also given forty-five thousand livres and authority to enlist a sufficient number of men for the enterprise. The king's intentions are set forth at large in his letters patent, in which he constitutes his "Dear and well beloved Jacques Cartier, Captain-General and Master Pilot of the expedition,"[2] who, he says, "has discovered the large countries of Canada and Hochelaga, making an end of Asia."[3]

In accordance with the king's authority, strenuous efforts were made to enlist men for the new colony; but this was found to be a difficult undertaking, and the king's expectation of colonizing Canada with

[1] These titles are given on the authority of Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744, tome i, p. 32. Reference, however, to the letters patent of January 15th, 1540, from which he professes to quote, and which are still preserved and can be identified as the same which he says were to be found in the État Ordinaire des Guerres in the Chambre des Comptes at Paris, does not bear out his statement.

[2] *Vide* Collateral Documents, *postea*.

[3] In the original, "Faisant un bout del'Azie du costé del'Occident." This was in accordance with the prevalent opinion that the coast of North America was the eastern extremity of the Asiatic continent.

"subjects of good intention" was not fulfilled; hence the prisons were resorted to, and malefactors of various degrees of crime — treason, heresy, and forgery only being excepted — were selected for Cartier's company. The evil gangs, chained together, were escorted under guard to St. Malo, among them a young girl of eighteen, innocent of crime, who, affianced to a wretch, it is said, "as hideous physically as morally," walked beside him attached to his chain.[1] Prosperous colonies are not made from such material.

While preparations were being made for the expedition Spain was not inactive. The Council of the Indies was summoned, and spies were despatched in haste to France to watch proceedings and report them in detail. Spain's policy from the first was to prevent other nations from getting a foothold in the Western hemisphere. In England she possessed herself of John Cabot's papers and destroyed a large portion of the evidence of his great discoveries, and, when Verazzano made his voyage along the American coast, she hastened to set Estevan Gomez upon his track to explore the same regions in her interests. Francis well understood the Spanish king's feelings with regard to his projects in the New World, and when the subject was mentioned in his presence he sarcastically remarked: "I should like to see the clause in our father Adam's will which bequeathed to him this fine heritage."

From the reports sent to Madrid by the spy at St.

1 "Une fiancée de 18 ans, innocente, *non accusée d'aucun cas* sur l'exigence du chef de l'escorte, se fait attacher à la chaine pour suivre un des scélérats qui parait, il faut le dire, aussi hideux au physique qu'au moral." Documents Nouveaux, Longrais, p. 28.

Malo, we learn that he managed to make the acquaintance of Cartier and his father-in-law, and to learn from them their plans. He reported that they were to proceed to Canada with twenty-five hundred men, where they were to settle and erect fortifications for their protection. Thirteen vessels were to be equipped with provisions for two years, all to be under the command of Cartier. Some of these ships were to be engaged in fishing. Vessels were also fitting out at other ports. In Morlaix, Brest, and Quimper-Corentin two ships and two galleons were being equipped by gentlemen of the country, and at Harfleur and Honfleur there were four galleons preparing to join the thirteen ships from St. Malo. Fourteen or fifteen ships and galleons owned by the Viscount of Dieppe had sailed from that port for Malagueta and Brazil, and five others were being fitted out for voyages to the same region. This was startling news, and the spy was ordered to get particulars concerning them. What to do to prevent the French from establishing themselves in the New World became a subject of serious discussion by the Council of the Indies. The king had already despatched a caravel to watch the movements of the French ships, and the council advised him to send another to the Cape de Verde Islands to report whether the French had passed in that direction instead of "to the coast of the Bacallaos,"[1] and to raise five hundred men, with supplies for a year, as a nucleus for a larger force, if it was found necessary to fit out a fleet for offensive action.

[1] The word Bacallaos, so frequently applied at this time to the fishing-grounds on the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, antedates Columbus, and has given rise to much speculation regarding its origin. Peter Martyr (De Orbe Novo, doc. iii, ch. vi) makes the word of Indian derivation, and credits Cabot with its application to the region discovered by him;

In order, however, not to break the treaty of peace with France, it was thought best to use dissimulation by having the ships fitted out in the name of a discoverer or colonizer, so that the king could disavow any participation in the destruction of the French expedition in case it was destroyed by the Spanish ships. This plan was submitted to the Cardinal of Seville, who indorsed it, but advised that proper papers should be given the ships, so that, if taken, the crews would not be executed as spies. He, however, gave it as his opinion that the French did not intend to go to the Rio de la Plata, nor to settle a colony beyond the Bacallaos, that is, in Canada, for the purpose of harassing Spanish commerce, as the king feared they intended doing, because the French could ill afford to bring on another war with Spain; and he concluded with the opinion that the project was a mad one, as the whole land was barren and unfruitful as far south as Florida. The king evidently adopted the opinions of the cardinal, for when he learned beyond peradventure from the captain of the vessel sent to watch Cartier's ships, and the report of his ambassador in France, that the destination of Cartier was toward Canada, he ceased making preparations to interfere with him, saying that he and his father had lost two fleets on the coast of the Bacallaos, where the inclement climate and stormy seas would bring the French to a dismal end.[1]

Brevoort (Verrazano the Navigator, pp. 61, 137) says the word is of Iberian origin; while Kohl (Documentary History of Maine, vol. i, p. 188 *et seq.*) says that the name Tierra de Bacallaos, meaning the stock-fish or codfish country, was first applied by the Portuguese to Newfoundland. The word, he says, is of German origin. All writers are, however, in agreement as to its derivation, viz., from the codfish.

[1] *Vide* Coleccion de Varios Documentos, Madrid, 1857, etc., Buckingham Smith, pp. 103–118 *et postea*.

While the Spanish government was engaged in these discussions, Cartier was hurrying forward preparations for his voyage. The task assigned him was not an easy one. Forty-five thousand livres, it has been said, were assigned Roberval for fitting out the expedition. Of this sum he gave Cartier thirty thousand, and subsequently thirteen hundred livres more. The king had given him the *Emerillon*, and, with the inadequate sum at his command, Cartier was obliged to charter or purchase four ships and equip the entire fleet.[1]

Realizing the necessity of an early start, the king had charged Roberval and Cartier to sail by the 15th of April. It would seem that the latter, with his accustomed energy, promptly performed his part of the task; for early in May, 1541, his ships were riding at anchor in the port of St. Malo, ready to depart. Roberval, however, who was to furnish the guns and ammunition with some other necessary supplies, was tardy, and Cartier, having peremptory orders from the king, set sail on the 23d of May, with the understanding that Roberval, who had commissioned him with authority to act until his arrival, should prepare at Honfleur such ships as were necessary to carry the munitions and other supplies, and join him at Newfoundland.

From the moment that Cartier and his companions lost sight of the gray bastions of St. Malo, they were assailed by tempests, which so hindered their progress that they ran short of water and were compelled to deal out their cider and other beverages to the cattle, goats, and swine which they carried, in order to pre-

[1] *Vide* Documents Inédits, Ramé, pp. 24–32 *et postea.*

vent them from perishing. At the end of a month, having been separated by storms, they met together at Rapont in Newfoundland, and there, dropping anchor, waited in vain for Roberval; then, finding the season slipping away, Cartier proceeded along the coast, now so familiar to him, and on August 23d made the harbor of St. Croix.

As the ships appeared sailing across the harbor, the Indians rushed to the shore, and, taking their canoes, paddled to the ships to welcome their king and other friends whom they supposed to be on board. To their disappointment they received the tidings that Donnacona was dead. Deeming it imprudent to inform them of the death of their other friends, Cartier, with Gallic tact, took refuge in romance and painted them as lords enjoying the sweets of domestic felicity in France.

The chief, Agona, whom Donnacona had left in charge of his people, received the news of his king's decease with tranquillity, very much as an heir to the French throne would have received similar tidings; yet he was statesman enough to see that the removal of the head of the government of Stadaconé at the caprice of every passing stranger would be subversive of order, and, though he placed his crown of tanned leather upon Cartier's head and his bracelets upon his arms,—nay, endowed him with a royal present of wampum, embraced him, and feasted at his expense,—the savage, like the Christian, dissimulated, though neither was deceived by the fair show of the other.

Having found a suitable shelter for his ships at a place which he named Charlesbourg Royal, about

four leagues beyond the harbor of St. Croix, Cartier, on September 2d, despatched two of his ships, under the command of his brother-in-law and nephew, to inform the king of the non-arrival of Roberval, who, he feared, had met with disaster.

The country about the place selected by them for settlement appeared to the adventurers like a scene of enchantment. Immense trees—the oak, beech, cedar, and, surpassing in virtue all others, the amedda —raised their crowns of verdure to the clouds, while from their mighty arms depended in inexhaustible profusion clusters of grapes "as black as mulberries." About them stretched fair meadows, the tall grass waving in the breeze, and beyond, their eyes rested on wide stretches of open ground covered with wild hemp. When they stirred the soil its fertility surprised them. In eight days after planting seed brought from France they saw the green shoots appear which gave them assurance of future harvests. On an elevation near the place where they were erecting their fort, they discovered ledges of black stone veined with shining minerals like gold and silver, and, as they walked, ever and anon along their way a stone sparkled in the sunlight like a diamond.

Having appointed the Vicomte Beaupré to govern during his absence, Cartier, on the 7th of September, set out for Hochelaga with two boats, well manned, to inspect the rapids to be passed in order to reach Saguenay, that he might better understand how to prosecute his explorations in the spring. On the way he stopped to visit the chief who, on his former voyage, presented to him his little daughter, being

desirous of making him his ally. To this end he had brought from France a red cloak adorned with bright buttons and bells, tin basins, knives and hatchets — articles likely to delight the savage heart. Having bestowed these gifts upon the happy potentate and left in his charge two French boys to acquire the language of the people, Cartier pushed on against the strong current, and on the 11th reached the first rapids, two leagues from which he found a village, where he was hospitably entertained and guides were furnished to accompany him.

Passing the first rapids in one of his boats doubly manned, Cartier found it impracticable to proceed farther in his boat, and set out on foot by a well-beaten road to visit the second rapids, coming soon to a village of friendly people, who, learning that he desired to visit the rapids, sent four young men to conduct him on the way. Opposite the second rapids he found still another village, whose people received him with the same kindness which he had already experienced, and showed him by placing sticks at intervals upon the ground, with small branches between to represent the rapids, that there were still other rapids to pass, and that the river was not navigable; whereupon Cartier concluded to return to the place where he had left his boats.

Upon reaching it he found about four hundred people gathered around the boats, to whom he made small presents, and then set out on his return to Charlesbourg Royal. In spite, however, of the friendly demonstrations with which Cartier was received by the people whom he met, he distrusted them, as it would seem with some reason. On the

way he called upon the chief with whom he had left the French boys, but found that he had departed, as Cartier subsequently learned, to plot with Agona against him.

Arrived at Charlesbourg Royal, Cartier was disturbed to learn that the savages avoided the fort, and ascertained from some of his men, who had visited Stadaconé, that many people had collected there; accordingly he put his fortress in order to repel an attack, though it is doubtful if any was intended.

Of Cartier's experiences during the winter no account has been preserved. When spring came, realizing the obstacles in the way of establishing a settlement at Charlesbourg Royal, he resolved to abandon the place and return to France. As he entered the harbor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, he found, to his surprise, a fleet of twenty ships, French and Portuguese, at anchor there, and among them the tall ships of Roberval, three in number, and bearing two hundred persons, among whom were a number of women. The viceroy had arrived on the 8th of June, and was engaged in preparations to continue the voyage, and in arbitrating disputes between the French and Portuguese fishermen. He had sailed, it is said, from Honfleur on the 22d of the preceding August, though Hakluyt says from Rochelle on April 16th, 1542, nearly eight months later. This is without doubt correct, and points to the inference that, meeting autumnal gales, he was beaten back to France and did not resume his voyage until the opening of spring. To him Cartier represented the country which he had abandoned as being rich and fruitful, and exhibited the supposed diamonds and gold which

he had found. The latter they tested by smelting and found it to be genuine, but the diamonds they had no means of testing.

Disregarding his superior's orders to return with him to the St. Lawrence, Cartier departed for France, while Roberval continued his voyage without him under the skilful pilotage of Jean Alphonse, and late in July reached Charlesbourg Royal, about four leagues west of the Isle of Orléans, where, landing his stores and munitions, he began his proposed settlement, changing the name bestowed upon the place by Cartier to Francy Roy. The name of the St. Lawrence he also changed to Francy Prime, in honor of the king.

Roberval, who had laid out his plans on a broad scale, set about the task of laying the foundations of the new settlement with marvelous energy, and Francy Roy became at once the scene of busy activity. The din of the ax, hammer, and trowel filled the air, and fortress, tower, mill, and long courts of buildings provided with halls, chambers, and kitchens rose like magic before the curious eyes of the Indians, who regarded the ceaseless activity of the French with amazement.

On the 14th of September Roberval despatched two of his ships to France, to inform the king of his welfare and to obtain supplies for the colony. D'Auxilhon, his trusty lieutenant, was in command of these ships, and was charged to ascertain if the crystals carried home by Cartier were genuine diamonds. Although we have no account of the return voyage of these vessels, we know that d'Auxilhon arrived safely in France, and four months after, on January 26th,

1542–3, received orders from the king to return to Roberval.

In the meantime the colonists at Francy Roy were passing a wretched winter; but the spirit of their chief was equal to the occasion, and though famine, disease, and mutiny diminished their number by fifty, with a heart which never despaired, and a hand which never slackened in the execution of a purpose, Roberval held the incongruous assemblage together, and, when spring at last dawned, was ready to undertake a voyage of exploration. On the 5th of June, 1543, "after supper," he embarked with a company of seventy, and, early on the morning of the following day, set sail for the gloomy gorges of the Saguenay. Thirty colonists were left behind under the charge of de Royeze, one of his lieutenants, who had orders to return with them to France by the 1st of July unless he heard from his chief. A few days after Roberval's departure a number of his companions found their way back to Francy Roy. A boat and eight men, among whom were several gentlemen, were lost, and on the 19th of June, less than two weeks from their departure, five more men joined the waiting colonists, bringing corn, of which they were in sore need, and orders to postpone their departure until the 22d of July. Unfortunately, the account of Roberval's farther movements has been lost to us. We may, however, be reasonably certain that d'Auxilhon reached Roberval with supplies sometime in the summer of 1543, and it has been thought that Jacques Cartier was despatched early in the same year to conduct him back to France, owing to war between the French and

Spanish kings, in which Roberval's services were required.

Reaching home after his severe experience in Canada, Cartier found his country in a turmoil. Francis I was again at war with his inveterate rival, Charles V, and had no time to listen to stories of new lands on the other side of the globe, even if he might claim them as having been discovered by one of his own people. An empty advantage gained over his hated antagonist, though it cost the lives of thousands of his subjects, was of more importance, in his estimation, than the acquisition of remote territory though many times larger than the realm he ruled, and with resources perhaps as great as those of any portion of the globe. Of the date of Cartier's arrival at St. Malo we have no record, but on the 21st of October, 1542,[1] about four months after he left Newfoundland on his return voyage, he was present at one of his favorite functions, a baptism. That he made a fourth voyage to Canada to bring back Roberval, although no account of such a voyage has been preserved, has been thought to be probable by a report of an Admiralty Commission appointed on the 3d of April, 1544, to audit his accounts. This commission consisted of five persons, who were ordered to convene at Rouen within a week after their appointment. Roberval and Cartier were summoned and appeared before them, and their decision in favor of Cartier was rendered on the 21st of June following. An allowance had been asked by him on account of ships employed in the third voyage, and an additional allowance on account of

[1] État civil de Saint Malo : "21 Octobre 1542, jour de Pâques, Jacquette fille Jacques Patris & Guillemette Maingart."

another vessel employed in a subsequent voyage. A copy of the application made to the commission has not been preserved, but the report makes it clear what this subsequent voyage was for. It is as follows:

"Et en ce qui est du tier navise mettres pour dix sept mois qu'il a esté audict voyage du dict Cartier, et pour huict mois qu'il a esté a retourner querir le dict Roberval au dict Canada au péril de nauleaige que les autres deux, se seront deux mil cinq cents livres, et, pour les autres deux qui furent audict voiaige, six mois a cent livres le mois, sont douze cents livres."

This shows that the commissioners made an award to Cartier on account of his third voyage, and also an award on account of a ship used "for eight months to fetch the said Roberval."

Further proof that Cartier himself went with d'Auxilhon on this fourth voyage to Canada appears necessary.[1] The date of this voyage, however, has been a subject of question. Ferland says that, "setting out in the autumn of 1543 for his fourth voyage, Cartier would have wintered in Canada and would have left it at the end of April or the beginning of May, 1544." Other writers have taken this view; but it is hardly to be supposed that Cartier, with his experiences of a Canadian winter and his knowledge of the dangers attending autumnal navigation on these far Northern waters, would have hazarded a voyage to the St. Lawrence so late in the season. It is also recorded that he was a witness in court at St. Malo, February 17th, 1544, long before it would have been

[1] *Vide* The Voyages of the English Nation, etc., Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. ii, p. 164.

possible, according to Ferland, for him to leave the St. Lawrence, and, as the commission referred to was appointed the 3d of April, before he and Roberval could have returned to air their differences. Between March 25th, 1543, and February 17th, 1544, at which former date he is recorded as officiating at a baptism at St. Malo, he is out of sight, and it is possible that shortly after the former date he departed on this fourth voyage, and that he returned eight months later, namely, in the autumn of 1543.

Reference to the pardon and power of attorney of d'Auxilhon shows that they were granted respectively September 9th and 11th, 1543, probably just before his departure from Francy Roy. His ships had not departed from France on the preceding Christmas, and complaint is made that they were prevented from departing on account of a mutiny which delayed them. There is every reason then to place the voyage of eight months between the early spring and late autumn of 1543.

The action of the Admiralty Commission was highly honorable to Cartier, and fully justified the confidence placed in him by the king. Roberval, while brave and enterprising, appears to have been unfit for the task assigned him. Had Cartier, when he met him in the harbor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, returned with him to Canada, it would have proved most disastrous to the enterprise; for we know, what Cartier was doubtless aware of, that he had not sufficient supplies for the maintenance of them all in the country, and that the lateness of the season when he reached his destination would forbid planting with any prospect of a harvest for use during the coming winter,

the severity of which he little realized, while Cartier had twice experienced the terrors of a Canadian winter. It was wise for him, therefore, under the circumstances, to return to France. Hakluyt says that "he and his company mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discouerie of those partes themselues, stole priuily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne."[1]

As Cartier already enjoyed the glory of discovery, this hardly seems a sufficient reason for his action, as he had nothing whatever to gain by the course he took, except the ill will of the powerful viceroy. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Cartier clearly understood the unfitness of the rash nobleman for so difficult an undertaking as the colonization of Canada. He had already wasted a year and squandered an immense sum in merely reaching Newfoundland, and Cartier saw the necessity for cutting loose from an enterprise fated to disaster, not only for his own sake, but for the welfare of his men and the property intrusted to him as well. Strange to say, what finally became of the once famous Roberval is unknown. It has been said that after serving in the war with Spain, remembering his failure to accomplish the task assigned him by Francis I of establishing a colony in Canada, he resolved to make another attempt in order to redeem his lost prestige, and that in 1549, Henry II then being on the French throne, he undertook with his brother another voyage, from which he never returned, though Thevet, a witness none too reliable,

[1] *Vide* The Voyages of the English Nation, etc., Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. ii, p. 164.

avers that he was assassinated in Paris near the Church of St. Innocents.[1]

Whether Cartier wholly relinquished his profession of a seaman we know not. There is a tradition, wholly unsupported by evidence, that he made a fifth voyage to Canada; but this is extremely improbable. From his frequent appearance at St. Malo, it would appear that he passed the remainder of his life in domestic comfort, honored and respected by his townsmen. He was in comfortable circumstances, having a house in the town, pleasantly situated on the Rue de Buhen, near the old de Buhen Manor, and a residence of some pretension at Limoilou, a few miles distant. The house is still preserved, though it has lost much of its pristine importance. It is of stone, plain and substantial in construction, and stands in a courtyard surrounded by a stone wall. It is approached by two gates, known as the Portes Cartier, and the larger is surmounted by the Cartier arms. Some have supposed that Cartier was ennobled by Francis I, but this supposition is not sustained by suitable evidence. In an act of the Chapter of St. Malo, September 29th, 1549, he is styled "Sieur de Limoilou," and on the 5th of February, 1550, in the record of a baptism at which he officiated, he is designated as the "noble homme, Jacques Cartier." The title *sieur* and *seigneur* was often used by small proprietors of estates, although they had never had that title conferred upon them legally. With respect to the designation "nobleman," the Abbé Faillon says that it was only applied to men of noble rank; but had Cartier been entitled to the term nobleman

[1] *Vide* Cosmographie Universelle, Thevet, tome ii, p. 1014.

in this sense, it would certainly have appeared in subsequent records.

That he was entitled to the term nobleman in its true sense there can be no doubt, and so he was regarded by his townsmen. To estimate the true character of a man of whose life so few particulars have been preserved is a difficult task. Certain prominent traits, however, may be unmistakably discerned through the obscurity which hides so much of his personality. The quality of bravery, which men so much admire, he possessed in an eminent degree. Calm, self-reliant, and steadfast amid the direst calamities he certainly was. When we behold him setting forth with his clumsy little ships across the untracked sea to explore the great gulf which washes the shores of Labrador, so dangerous even now to navigation, he seems at first only a rash adventurer; but when we follow him and witness the skill with which he carried his ships through the perils of fog and tempest, shoal and hidden reef, the courage with which he penetrated a wild country for hundreds of miles, surrounded by savages often inimical to him, the coolness with which he bore the death of his men by disease, which threatened the destruction of his whole company, and his success in extricating himself from seemingly unavoidable disaster, we can but place him in the fore rank of the world's heroic navigators. Not the least striking trait of his character, and the one which perhaps was its vital force, was his piety. In all his undertakings he appears unquestionably to have relied upon the support of an overruling Providence. It is true that he kidnapped King Donnacona and a number of other savages, and told

Taignoagny, when he was sick, that his illness was the result of the anger of Jesus because of his treacherous conduct; but, if we would do justice to the man, we should not measure such acts by the ethical standards of to-day. He lived at a time when many good Christians regarded savages before conversion as being outside the pale of salvation. De Maistre, one of the most gentle and respected of Roman Catholic writers, denominated them "Branches lopped from the Tree of Life," and Mather probably held a similar opinion when he called them "wolves with men's brains." Cartier, however, had a better reason for capturing a few savages; namely, the success by their aid of a great enterprise, one of the important results of which would be the Christianization and consequent salvation of many of their people. This he probably regarded an ample justification of their capture, as no doubt he did the fiction which he imposed upon Agona to account for Donnacona's failure to return to Canada.

It is not improbable, too, that the reason which he gave for Taignoagny's illness he believed to be a good one. Many of the most pious writers of the past have recorded their faith in similar fictions; so that while we wholly dissent from his ethics, we may properly give him the benefit due to one who lived in a time when reason was hardly allowed to deal with questions involving man's relations to God.

We have every reason to believe that Cartier treated the savages whom he captured in a most humane manner. In all his dealings with them his actions are in striking contrast with those of his Spanish contemporaries.

In his domestic and civil relations Cartier never appears to disadvantage; indeed, he must have been a very important figure in the life of St. Malo during his residence there and at Limoilou. The frequent recurrence of his name in the civil and ecclesiastical records of the town shows this.

Certain it is that St. Malo will always derive distinction from the memory of Cartier. For a century she claimed, by right of his discovery of the St. Lawrence and adjoining territory, unrestricted privileges in the trade of the New Land, and whenever the reigning monarch attempted to reward favorites by exclusive grants therein, the inhabitants vigorously protested against them, upon the ground that they were infringements upon their ancient rights derived from the discoveries of their townsman; indeed, when, a long time after Cartier's death, his nephews succeeded in obtaining a grant for exclusive trade in Canada for a limited period of time to reimburse them, his heirs, for money expended by him in his voyages, and which had been acknowledged as a debt due him by the judicial authority of the country, the people of St. Malo caused it to be annulled upon the same ground.

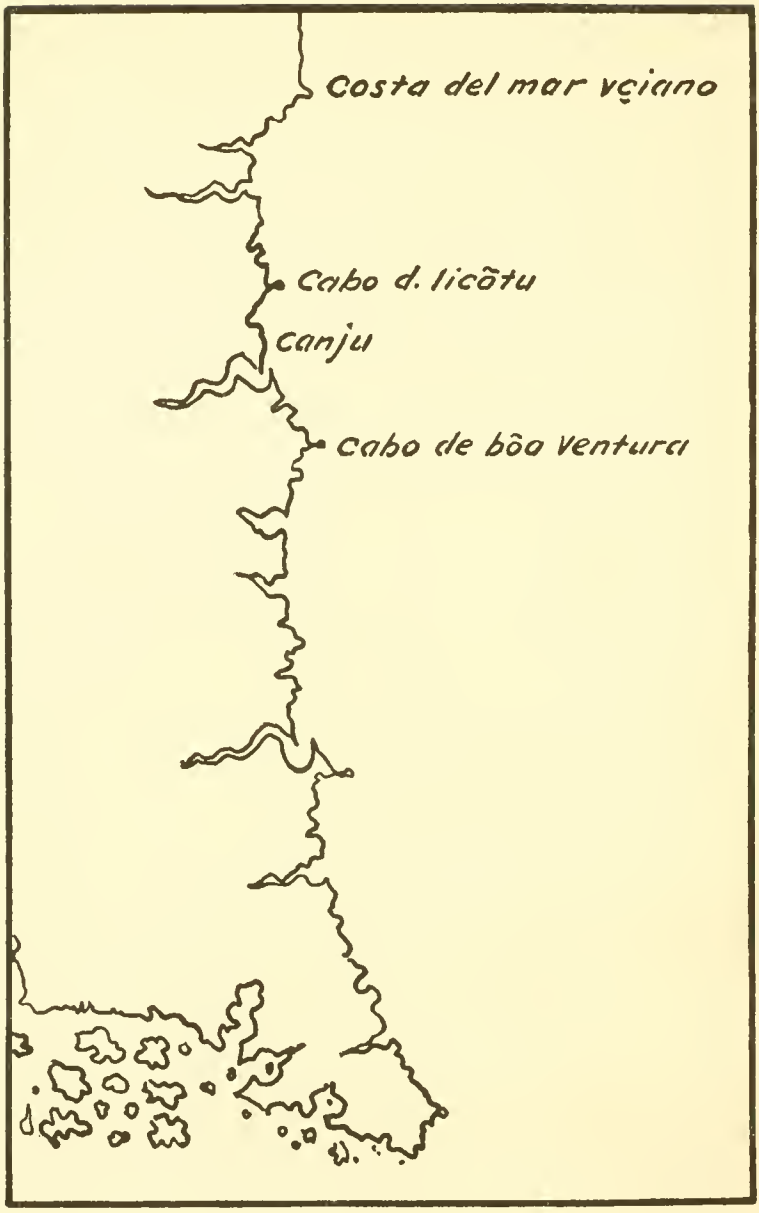
During the larger part of his life France was engaged in conflicts with Spain, and disturbed by religious controversy. The fires of persecution raged fiercely about him under Francis I and his successor, and the cruelties which they caused to be inflicted upon the victims of their mistaken zeal for religion must often have caused him to long for the free life of the wide sea and the joy of discovery, so keen and so satisfying; for it is hardly to be supposed

that men generally approved of the cruelties inflicted in the name of religion upon their fellows by those in authority. It is not at all probable, however, that he made any extended voyages after his return with Roberval from Canada, the honor for the discovery of which seems to have been freely accorded him by his countrymen, though not always by others. That he is entitled to the honor, however, seems, with our present cartographical knowledge, to be susceptible of proof.

It is hardly to be doubted that Portuguese and Bretons had penetrated the Gulf of St. Lawrence previous to Cartier's first voyage; indeed, there is good evidence that they had;[1] but there is none that they ever came in sight of the St. Lawrence River. Peter Martyr and Gómara are authority for the statement that Cortereal in the year 1500 entered the gulf and named certain islands at its mouth; indeed, Ramusio claims that he was the first "who attained that part of the New World in the search for a shorter passage to reach the Spice Islands."[2] Cantino's planisphere, which is supposed to exhibit the discoveries of Cortereal, does not support this claim, as it shows no opening like the Gulf of St. Lawrence, nor of a river, "Rio Nevado," which that navigator is said to have

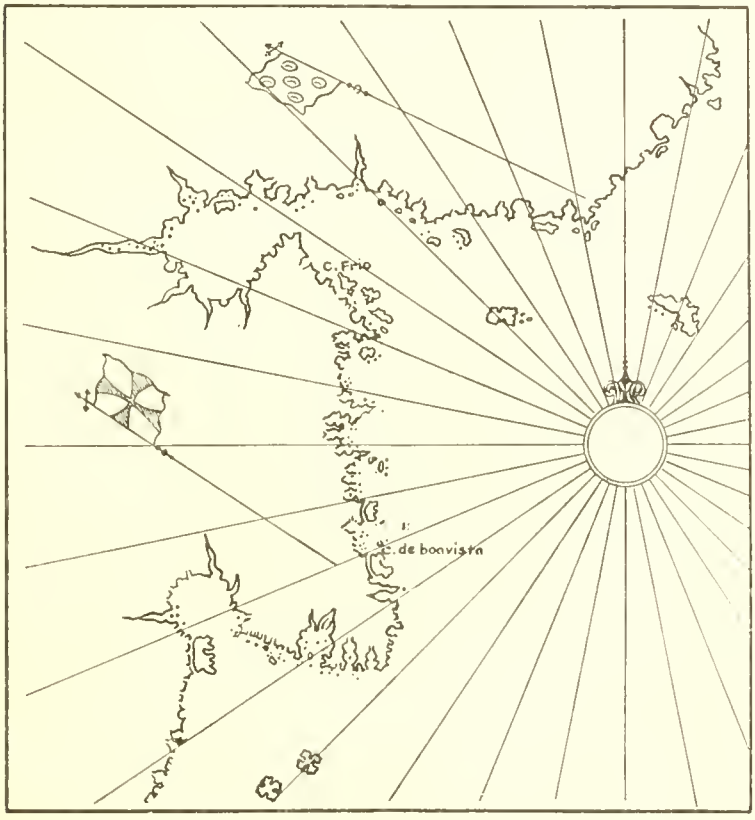
[1] *Cf.* Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique, Gaffarel, Paris, 1892; Congrès International des Américanistes, Nancy, 1875 (L'Amérique et les Portugais); Les Navigations Françaises, Margry, Paris, 1867.

[2] "In the yeare a thousande and five hundreth Gaspar Cortesreales made a voyage thyeher with two Caravelles; but founde not the streyght or passage he sought. At his beinge there, he names the Ilandes that lye in the mouth of the *goulfe Quadrado* [the St. Lawrence] after his name, Cortesreales, lyinge in the L [fifty] degrees or more." *Vide* The First Three Books on America, Birmingham, 1885, p. 344. *Cf.* Historia général de las Indies, Gómara, 1552–3; Navigationi et Viaggi, Ramusio, 1556.



Cantino—A.D. 1502

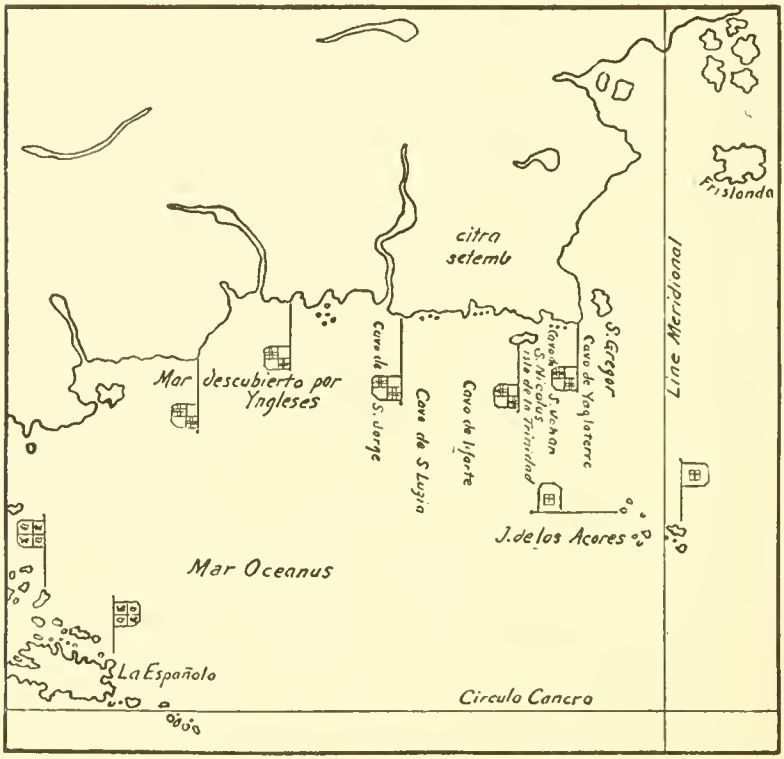
discovered. Such a river, however, is found on later maps, the Riccardiana of 1534–40, and the Cabot map of 1544, though not near the Gulf of St. Lawrence.



Riccardiana — A.D. 1534–40

There seems to be good reason to infer that Joâo Alvarez Fagundes was familiar with the gulf long before Cartier's first voyage. On the 13th of March, 1521, he was granted letters patent for lands discovered by him, where he was to settle a colony. A number

of islands are mentioned in this document, the names of which appear on later charts and enable us to identify the field of his exploits.[1] For many years after Cabot's discovery the coast of Newfoundland was very imperfectly represented in charts. It is known that

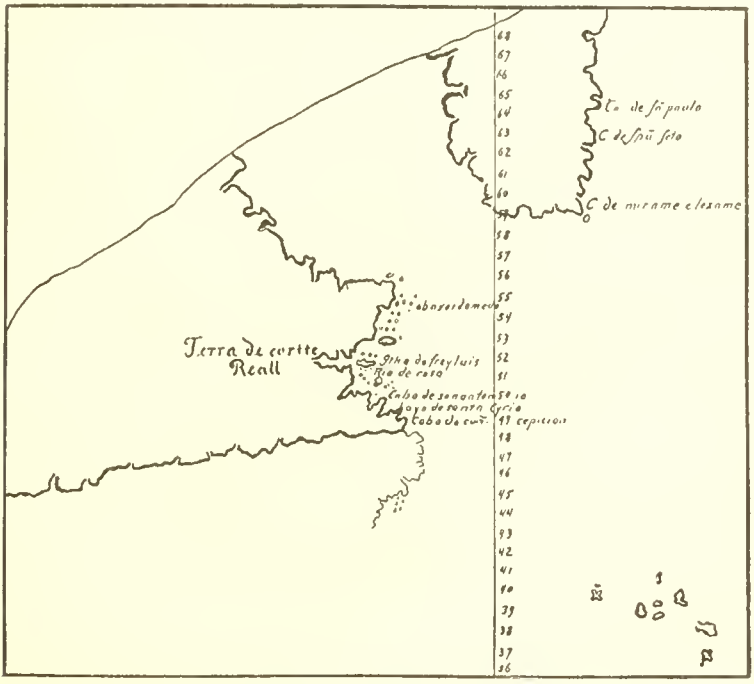


La Cosa—A.D. 1500

Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the court of Henry VII, sent to the Spanish king a map of the first voyage of Cabot in 1497, and there is little

[1] *Vide* Découverte et Évolution Cartographique, etc., Harrisse, Paris, 1900, pp. xxv, 86, 135, 218.

doubt that it was followed by a map of the second voyage. The knowledge thus obtained resulted in the famous planisphere of Juan de la Cosa, made in 1500. One might expect to find on this map something approximating this island; but a continuous coast-line extends north and south with no resemblance to the

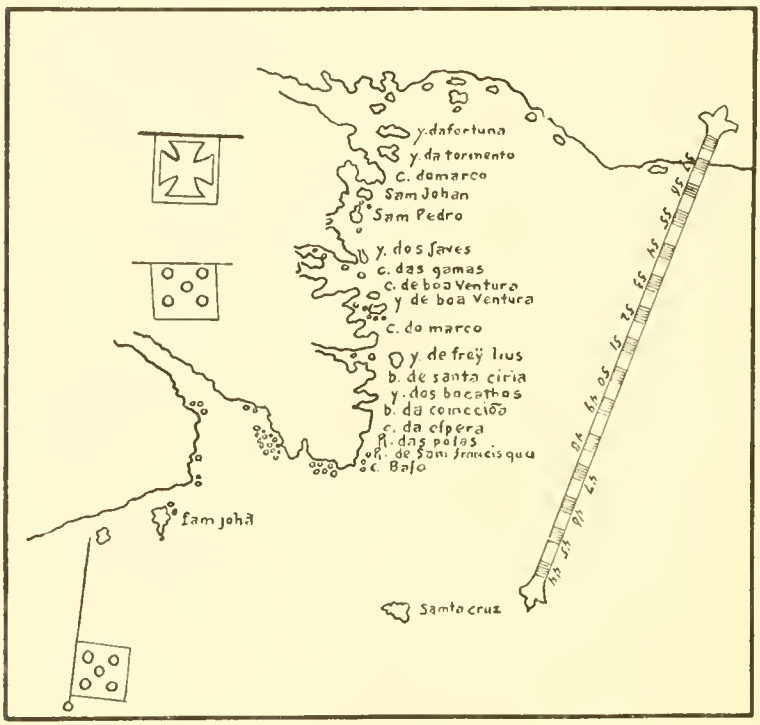


Portuguese Chart—A.D. 1504

true one, though it bears a score of names, seven being the names of capes.

In the year 1500 Gaspar Cortereal made a fruitless voyage to the same region, and again in 1501 visited and explored the coast. Although he never returned, the results of his discoveries fell into the hands of

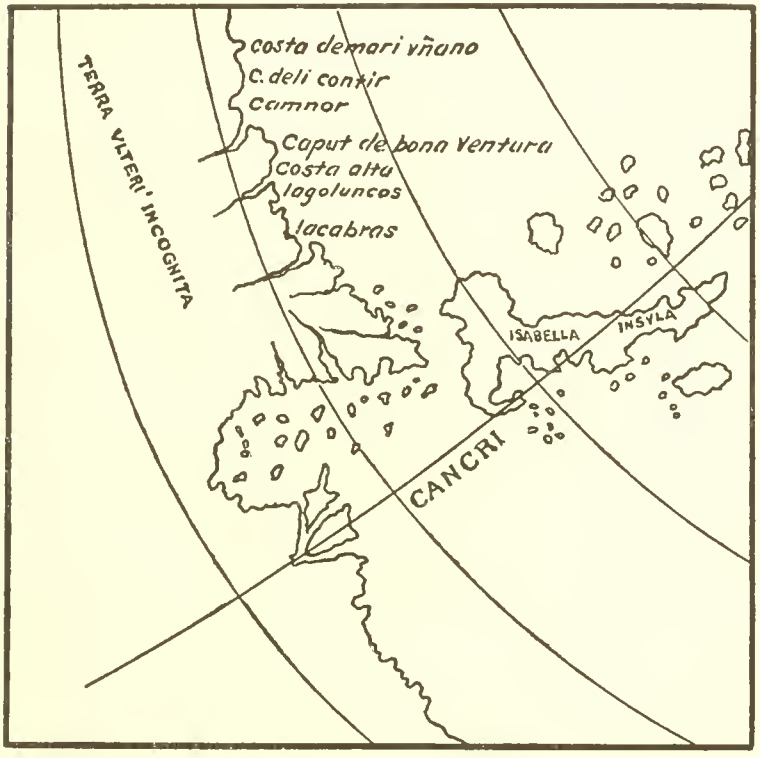
Alberto Cantino, who in 1502 reproduced them in a planisphere for the Duke of Ferrara. This map does not disclose a coast-line unlike that of La Cosa; nor does that of Canerio in 1503 nor the noted Portuguese chart of 1504 reveal any change in the knowledge of this region. In 1503 Richard King, an



Reinel—A.D. 1505

Englishman, made a map of the northern part of the continent with a Portuguese nomenclature, and in 1504 the German Kuntsman and the Italian Oliveriana produced maps in which appear names still familiar on modern maps of Newfoundland and vi-

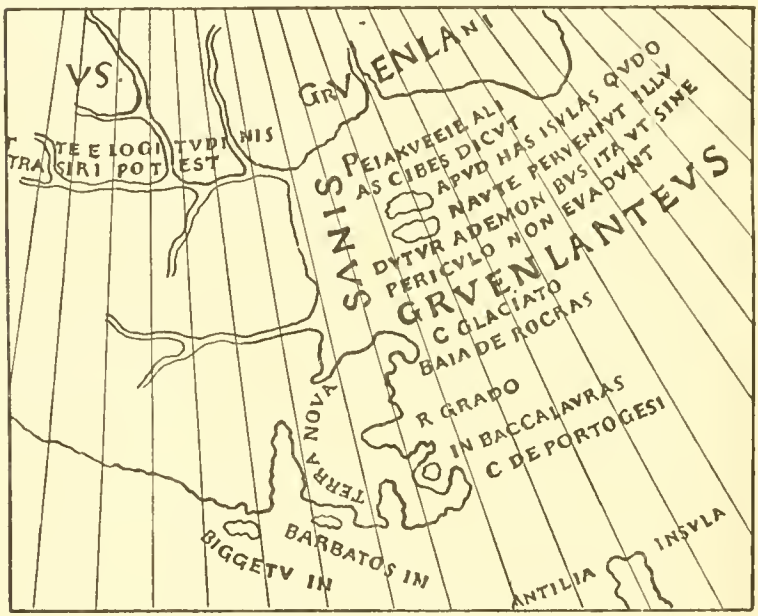
cinity, as "Ilha de Frey Luis," or Island of Brother Louis, the name, perhaps, of a religious brother who accompanied Cortereal, which now, after many corruptions, is preserved in Cape Freels, "Capo Raso" in Cape Race, and others. In 1505 Pedro Reinel



Waldseemüller—A.D. 1507

produced his famous map; but all of these maps fail to reveal an opening to the north of Newfoundland. Recently the first map bearing the name America was discovered in the library of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg of Würtemberg, drawn in 1507

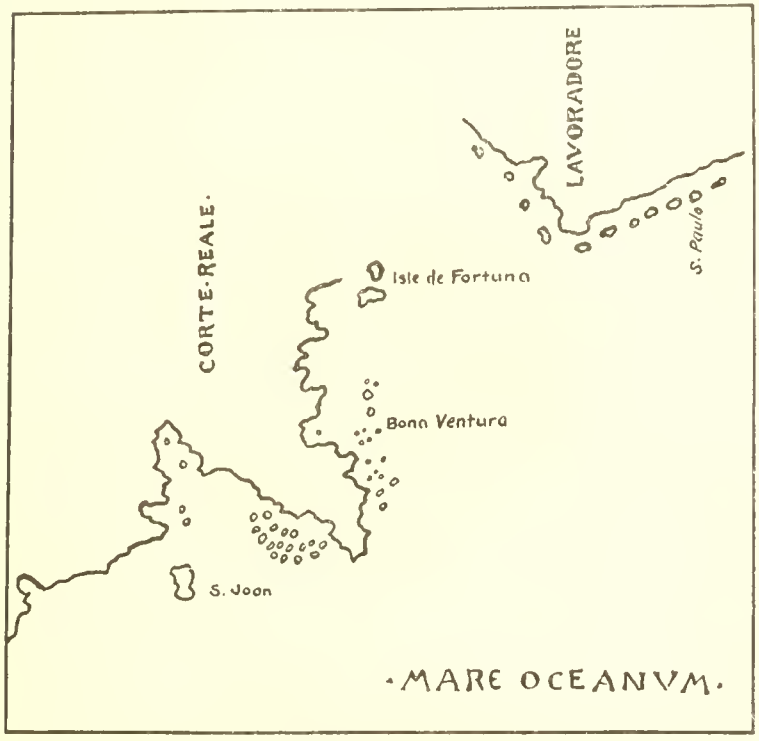
by Martin Waldseemüller, who was a professor in the little College of St. Die in Lotharingia. This map Waldseemüller printed on the college press, but it plainly shows its prototype to have been the map of Cantino. The map of Ruysch, published in 1508, shows some addition to the knowledge of the region displayed by Cantino and his successors, but still



Ruysch—A.D. 1508

preserves a continuous coast-line to the north. In the map of Maggiolo in 1527, however, this line is broken, which may indicate a knowledge of the opening between Labrador and Newfoundland; still, a glance at the map of Ribeiro of 1529 probably shows the extent of the knowledge possessed by Maggiolo, for on this map these openings are better

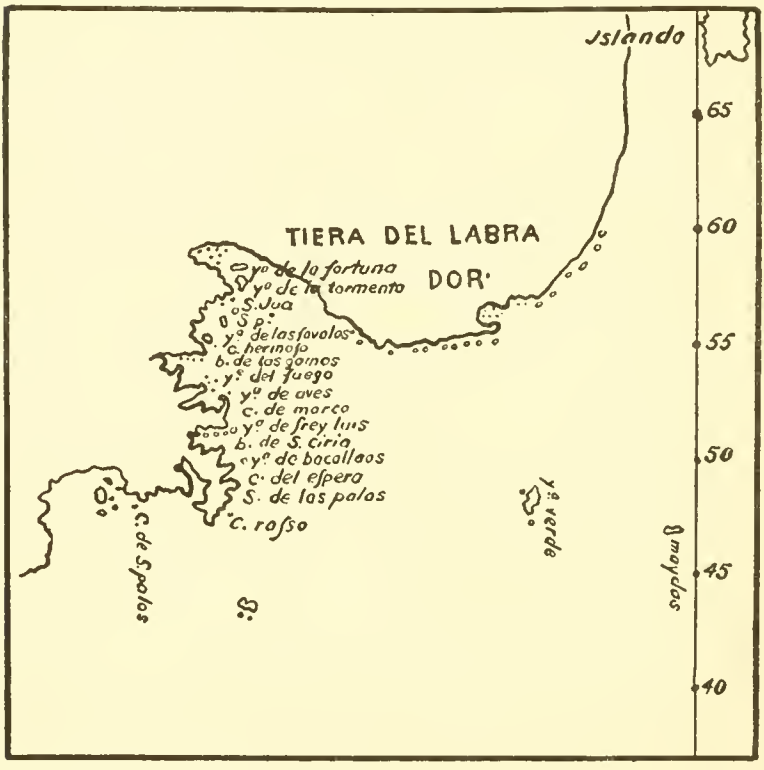
defined and show their boundaries joined with a continuous coast-line both north and south. In an examination of the cartography of the region visited by Cartier we should not overlook the notable map of Gaspar Viegas, which is especially interesting to us, as it was published in 1534, while



Maggiolo — A.D. 1527

Cartier was pursuing his first voyage and before its results were known. In this chart Newfoundland appears with its familiar Cape Race — " C. Rasso " ; west of which are several bays which are not difficult to identify as St. Mary's, Placentia, and Fortune. On

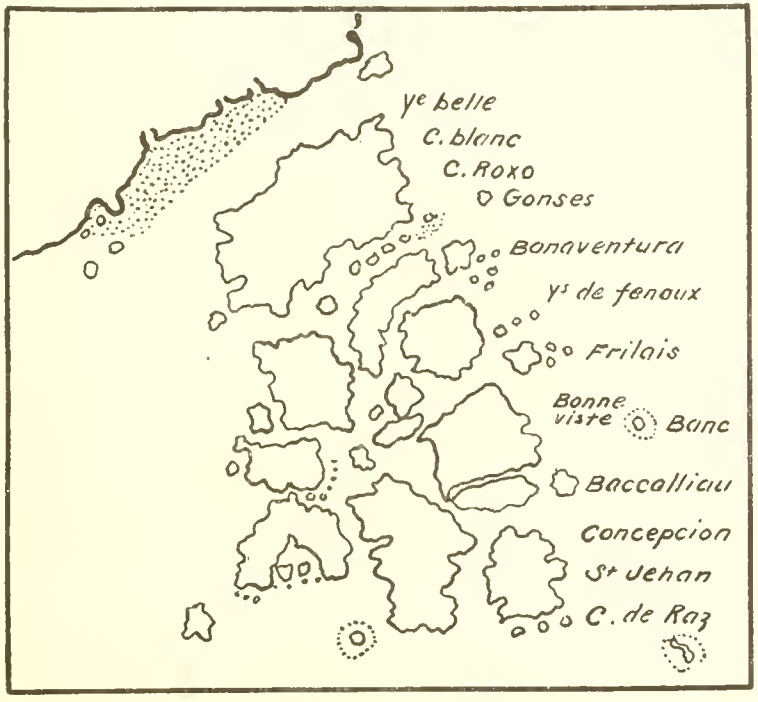
the north Viegas shows no opening, while south the coast-line is continued westerly and ends in a bay with a river entering it, entitled "R. das poblas." This bay and river have been thought to represent the gulf and river St. Lawrence. If this is so,



Ribeiro—A.D. 1529

Viegas shows an almost absurd ignorance of the true cartography of the region. The river das poblas is but a short distance northwest of Cape Breton, and would much better represent the Bay Chaleur. It is possible that Viegas obtained his information respect-

ing this bay and river from old maps, or from statements of Portuguese fishermen, who had penetrated the bay on the south. The map of Riccardiana of about the same date indicates openings to the north and south, but not continued far to the west. In spite, however, of these maps, it is quite certain that



Desliens—A.D. 1541

an opening north of Newfoundland was known before Cartier's visit to the region. It is probable that Spanish and Portuguese cosmographers knew of such a passage, but kept the coast-line closed in their charts to deceive other nations who were studying

that part of the world.[1] Cartier himself seems to have had a knowledge of this opening, perhaps obtained in some subsequent voyage to the coast, or from fishermen who had been there; certainly, he seems to have set out on his initial voyage of discovery with the deliberate purpose of exploring this opening to its extreme limit. He made the usual atterrage at Bonavista, followed the coast up to the Strait of Belle Isle, and, turning into it, pursued his course southwestwardly with a confidence born of foreknowledge. It seems strange that if Spanish and Portuguese cosmographers possessed a knowledge of an opening to the great gulf north of Newfoundland they should have failed so long to notice Cartier's discoveries; but they seem to have escaped their attention for many years, and the first charts to represent them were Desliens' in 1541, Roze's in 1542, the Harleyan in 1543, Cabot's in 1544, and Descellier's in 1546. These were all made in France, except Cabot's, which was engraved at Antwerp.[2] It is unfortunate that the map made by Jean de Clamorgan, embodying the results of Cartier's discoveries and presented by him to Francis I, has been lost. This

[1] Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his Discourse refers to this opinion prevalent in his time, and says that the Spaniards and Portuguese were not disposed to "beate the bush, and other men catch the birds; which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, should seeke to discouer to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest." *Vide* The Voyages of the English Nation, Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. i, p. 62.

[2] The nomenclature of this map ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, but of which it is doubtful if he was the author, is hardly recognizable as that of Cartier, which shows that the maker or engraver was ignorant of the French language. Thus Cartier's C. Tiennot becomes C. de Tronot; Rivière de Saguenay, Rio de S. Quenain; Stadaconé, Estadas; Tutonaguy, Tuttonaer, etc.

map was probably made in conformity with Cartier's "booke in manner of a sea chart," referred to by his nephew Jacques Noüel, which is also lost. From what appears, however, in the study of the cartography of the northern portion of the continent previous to Cartier's visit, we must conclude that he merits the claim of his countrymen to the honor of being the discoverer of the St. Lawrence River and the country bordering upon it, still known by the name he bestowed upon it of Canada.

The importance of Cartier's discoveries France never realized. For years her hardy toilers of the sea found their perilous way to those far Northern waters to gather their harvest of walrus-tusks and precious furs, and find shelter in the pleasant coves along the coast to cure their fish and barter with the wary savages, who, with good reason, had none too much confidence in their pale-faced visitors; but nearly three quarters of a century rolled away before Champlain, a worthy successor of Cartier, took up the work where his predecessor had left it.[1]

In this brief and imperfect memoir of a man whose name will not be forgotten, the sole endeavor has been to gather all the particulars of his life at present accessible, and to give them unembellished to the reader, regretting always that the curtain of oblivion has concealed so much from view. Of the manner of his death, even, we have only a surmise. A plague at the time was prevalent at St. Malo, and some one

[1] In the dedication of his voyage of 1632 Champlain expresses these noble sentiments: "La prise des fortresses, ni le gain des batailles, ni la conquête des pays ne sont rien en comparaison du la salut des ames et de la gloire de Dieu; et la conversion d'un infidèle vaut mieux que la conquête d'un royaume."

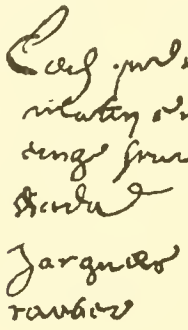
has guessed that this was the cause of his death. It may or may not have been.

This, however, we find, under date of September 1, 1557, in the margin of the old record of the town registrar, where sometimes, but infrequently, the death of a person whose loss had a public significance would be noted by the recorder:

> This said Wednesday about five o'clock in the morning died Jacques Cartier.[1]

Let us wish him what at the close of his second great voyage he himself expressed his desire to attain at the close of life's voyage: "Paradis à la fin."

[1] The following is a facsimile of the entry:



Ce dict mercredy au matin environ cinq heures deceda Jacques Cartier

FIRST VOYAGE

1534

FIRST VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER

A.D. 1534

From Manuscript No. 5, Portefeuille LVII de Fontette, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

AFTER Sir Charles de Mouy, Knight, Lord of Meilleraye, and Vice-Admiral of France, had taken the oaths and made the captain, masters, and crews of the said ships swear to well and loyally deport themselves in the service of the king under the charge of the said Cartier, we departed from the harbor and port of St. Malo with the said two ships of the burden of about sixty tons each, the two manned with sixty-one men,[1] the twentieth day of April of the said year, one thousand five hundred thirty-four, and with good weather navigated and came to New Land[2] the tenth day of May, and made

[1] Hakluyt says: "We departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of three score tun apiece burden and 61 well appointed men in each one." Ramusio and Lescarbot both agree with Hakluyt. The text, however, is definite on this point: both ships carried but sixty-one men, which number included Cartier. This is confirmed by the following record under date of March 28, 1533: "Jacques Cartier, capitaine et pilote pour le Roy, ayant charge de voiaiger et aller aux Terres Neuffves, passer le destroict de la baye des Chasteaulx avecques deux navires équippez de soixante compaignons pour l'an present," etc.

[2] "Terre Neuve," or New Land, now Newfoundland, was until of late universally acknowledged to have been first discovered by John Cabot in 1497, and this belief still prevails in spite of the scholarly arguments brought against it by the learned French cartographer, Henry Harrisse, who ascribes its discovery, in 1501, to Gaspar Cortereal, who gave it his

land at Cape Bonavista,[1] being in forty-eight degrees and a half of latitude and in . . . degrees of longitude.[2] And for the great quantity of ice which was along this land it behooved us to enter into a harbor named St. Catherine,[3] being to the south-southwest of this cape about five leagues, where we were for the space of ten days, biding our

name, Terra Corterealis. Says Harrisse (Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre Neuve, p. xxi): "Les documents n'attestent la présence d'aucun Européan a Terre Neuve avant Gaspar Corte-Real. Dans l'état actuel de la question, l'historien impartial doit donc en attribuer la découverte aux Portugais." On the other hand, English writers of equal authority properly argue that the absence of documents accurately determining the landfall of Cabot is not evidence enough to deprive that great navigator of the honor of a discovery which has been so long ascribed to him. *Vide* History of the Discovery of Maine, J. G. Kohl, Portland, 1869, p. 133 *et seq.;* The Discovery of North America, Henry Harrisse, London, 1892, pp. 6–12; A History of Newfoundland, D. W. Prowse, Q.C., London, 1895, pp. 6–17; Presidential Address on Cabot's Landfall, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa, 1897; Fourth Centenary of the Voyage of John Cabot in 1497, Markham, Geographical Journal, June, 1897.

[1] "Cap de Bonne Viste," the Bonavista of to-day, and which some writers claim to have been John Cabot's first landfall in 1497, and named by him Prima Vista. The discovery is also accredited by other writers to Gaspar Cortereal in 1501, and by him named Buonavista after one of the principal islands of the Cape de Verde group, where he had been shortly before its discovery. It was the objective point of early navigators to this region, and their point of departure for home. For recent discussion of the subject *cf.* A History of Newfoundland, D. W. Prowse, Q.C., London, 1895, p. 10 *et seq.;* Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre Neuve, Henry Harrisse, London, 1900, p. 21.

[2] In the several versions of this voyage the longitude is often wanting. There was no exact method of calculating longitude at this time, and maps made long after Cartier's day show considerable variations in the longitude of places. It is probable that, following French geographers, Cartier took for his meridian the island of Ferro, the westernmost of the Canaries.

[3] "Saincte Katherine," now known as Catalina, the Spanish form of Catherine. St. Catherine's Day occurred on the 30th of April, about ten days before Cartier's arrival there. It seems, however, probable that Cartier named it after this saint, although some doubt has been expressed on this point. *Cf.* the version of du Petit Val of 1598, where it is said, "Nous nommasmes S. Catherine."

time and fitting out our boats. And the twenty-first day of the said month of May we departed from the said harbor with a west wind, and were borne to the north a quarter northeast from Cape Bonavista as far as to the Isle of Birds,[1] the which island was all surrounded and inclosed by a bank of ice, rent and shattered in pieces. Notwithstanding the said bank, our two boats went to the said island in order to get some of the birds, of which there is so great a number that it is an incredible thing to one who does not see it; for, notwithstanding that the said island comprises about a league in circumference, it may be so very full of them that it seems as if one had stowed[2] them there. There are a hundred times more of them round about it and in the air than within the island, of which a part of these birds are large as geese, black and white, and have a beak like a crow, and are always in the sea, without ever being able to fly in the air, forasmuch as they have little wings like the half of one, wherewith they fly as stoutly in the sea as the other birds do in the air, and these birds are so fat that it is a marvelous thing. We named these birds *Apponatz*,[3] with which our two boats were loaded in less than half an hour, as it

[1] "L'isle des Ouaiseaulx," the Isle of Birds, one of the islands now known as the Funk Islands. It was so denominated long before Cartier visited it, being laid down on Reinel's map of 1504, "Dos Saues"; Miller's, 1520, "Yhlas das aues"; Verazzano's, 1529, "Illa dos aves."

[2] In the edition of Raphael du Petit Val it is said of these birds that they are so thick "q'ils y soyent expressement apportez et presque comme semez," and by Hakluyt "that they seem to have been brought thither, and sowed for the nonce." The words here used are "qu'i semble que on les ayt arimez." The verb *arrimer* is a nautical term which signifies to stow a cargo.

[3] Hakluyt says, "We named them *Aporath*," and du Petit Val, "They were called by those of the country, *Apponath*." The latter

were with stones, wherefore each of our ships salted four or five butts of them, besides what we could eat of them fresh. Besides these is another sort of birds which go in the air and in the sea, that are smaller, which they name *Godez*,[1] which put into the said island and stow themselves under the larger ones. There was another sort of them bigger that are white, which place themselves apart from the others in one

statement is without doubt correct. He also says that they were larger than pies, that is, jays or magpies, as Hakluyt translates the word. In the manuscript the word is *ouays*, or geese, which would better describe their size. Cartier's description indicates the great auk (*Alca impennis*), which abounded in this region in his day but is now supposed to be extinct. It is remarkable for its small wings, hardly more than rudimental, which are set far back on the body, and, with the feet, propel it with great velocity through the water. In summer the upper part of the body is black, which in winter changes to white on the sides of the neck and throat. It has been confounded by early navigators with the penguin. Thus Parkhurst, writing to Hakluyt in 1578, says: "These birds are also called Penguins and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose"; and in the account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage in 1583 it is said: "We had sight of an Island named Penguin, of a fowle there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse than a goose) and exceeding fat; which the Frenchmen used to take without difficulty upon that Island, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made use there the like provision." *Vide* The Voyages of the English Nation, Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 303, 334; Key to North American Birds, Coues, Boston, 1872, p. 338; Ornithological Biography, J. J. Audubon, Edinburgh, 1838, vol. iv, p. 316 *et seq.*; and Report of the National Museum, 1888, p. 494, by Lucas, who visited the Funk Islands and rather supposed the *Apponatz* to be the razorbill, and the *grans Apponatz* mentioned by Cartier farther on in his voyage to be the great auk — a distinction it might seem almost too nice for the rough Breton sailor to make.

[1] The birds called by Cartier *Godez* were doubtless murres (genus *Uria*), and with them perhaps were razorbills (*Alca torda*) and others. I do not find that any of the early voyagers, Spanish, French, or English, made any distinction between the murres and other birds associated with them, except as they differed in size or color, or exhibited striking peculiarities of habit. The word *godé* in the dictionary of Fleming and Tibbins is defined as an "oiseau de mer blanc et noir qui vole tres vite."

part of the island, and which are very bad to attack, for they bite like dogs and are called *Margaulx*.[1] And notwithstanding the said island may be fourteen leagues from land, the bears[2] pass thither by swimming from the mainland to eat of the said birds, of which our men found one of them as big as a cow, and as white as a swan, which leaped into the sea before them. And the next day, which is the day of Pentecost, in making our course toward land, we met the said bear about midway, which went toward land as fast as we could go under sail; and we, having perceived him, gave chase with our boats and took him by force; the flesh of which was as good to eat as of a heifer of two years.

Wednesday, the 27th of the said month, we arrived at the entrance of Castle Bay,[3] and owing to the contrariety of the wind and the great quantity of ice that we found, it behooved us to enter into a harbor,

[1] *Margaulx*. The birds here described were undoubtedly gannets (*Sula bassana*), and to-day abound where their progenitors were despoiled by Cartier's companions; nor have they changed their habits, but still "bite like dogs" when their haunts are invaded by foes.

[2] *Ursus maritimus*, one of the largest, strongest, and most ferocious of its genus. It has been known to weigh fifteen hundred pounds, and was often encountered by voyagers in this region.

[3] "Le baye Chasteaulx." It is clear that Cartier here indicates the Strait of Belle Isle, the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He had sailed from St. Malo on the 20th of April, and, after a voyage of twenty days, had made land at Cape Bonavista. About this there should be no question, for he gives the latitude with great accuracy, being within twelve minutes of the exact location. This had been the objective point of preceding navigators. From here, owing to the ice, he had made his way south-southwest about five leagues to the present Catalina, where he remained until the 21st of May, ten days, when he sailed north by east and came to the islands so long known as the Bird Islands, and six days later reached the Strait of Belle Isle, namely, on the 27th, where his progress was arrested by the outflowing ice. It is well to note these points particularly in order to definitely fix the starting-point of Cartier for his voyage toward the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

being in the neighborhood of the entrance named Rapont,[1] where we were without the power of getting out of it until the ninth day of June, when we departed to pass by the help of God beyond. The said Rapont is in fifty-one and a half degrees of latitude.

DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND FROM CAPE ROUGE[2] TO THE HARBOR OF BREST, BEING IN THE BAY

The land from Cape Rouge as far as Degrat,[3] which is the point of entrance of the bay, bears from cape to cape north-northeast and south-southwest; and all this land is parted into islands adjacent and so near one another that there are only little streams whereby

[1] Rapont. Both Hakluyt and du Petit Val call this place Carpunt. It is now known as Quirpon, but it will be found under the various names of Karpunt, Kirpon, Carpoon, and Carpon. Writers differ as to the derivation of the name. Bishop Howley thinks it to be a corruption of Cape Arpon (English, Cape Harpoon), while Harrisse (Découverte, p. 171) says, "Il y a beaucoup de petites localités en Bretagne du nom de Carpont," which would seem better to indicate the origin of the name. Dionne, however, says (La Nouvelle France, Quebec, 1891, p. 62): "C'est le mot Querquepont defiguré, fort usite dans le vocabulaire des pêcheurs d'autrefois, ainsi que degrat, chafaud," etc. Cartier's description of the harbor, which is on an island off the northeastern extremity of Newfoundland, is remarkably accurate, and agrees precisely with the modern English sailing directions.

[2] "Cap Rouge." Hakluyt says Cape Razo, and du Petit Val, Cap Rasé. On early Italian charts it is called Capo Rosso (Red Cape), which meaning it preserves in the Cape Rouge of to-day. It should be remarked, to avoid confusion, that Cape Race on the same charts is denominated Capo Raso and even Rasso.

[3] Degrat, or, according to Hakluyt and others, Degrad, is without doubt the high land on the eastern side, which is considerably higher than Cape Bauld, which forms the northern extremity of Quirpon. The following, taken from the Newfoundland sailing directions, confirms this view: "Kirpon Island forms the southeast point of entrance to the Strait of Belle Isle. It is large, high and barren, and Cape Degrat on its eastern side in the centre of the Island is visible in clear weather about 30 miles, being upwards of 500 feet high." It was from this eminence that Cartier saw the "two fair islands," i.e., the Funk Islands, near Cape Rouge. Compelled

boats can go and pass among them, and because of this there are several good harbors, of which the said harbor of Rapont and that of Degrat are in one of these islands, that which is the highest of all, from the top of which one sees clearly the two fair islands which are near Cape Rouge, whence they account it twenty-five leagues. To the said harbor of Rapont there are two entrances, one toward the east and the other toward the south of the islands; but one must give heed to the east side and point, for there are shoals and shelving ground, and one should range the western island at the distance of half a cable or nearer as he will, and then get away on the south toward Rapont. And one should give heed to three shoals which are under water in the channel toward the east island. There is a depth by the channel three or four fathoms and good bottom; the other entrance bears east-northeast and south toward the west within a leap to the shore.[1]

Setting out from the point of Degrat and entering into the said bay, making west, a quarter northwest, one doubles two islands which lie to larboard, one of which is within three leagues of the said point and the other about seven leagues from the first, which is

by wind and ice to seek shelter in the harbor of Quirpon, Cartier was confined there for thirteen days, and here takes occasion to describe the coast from Cape Rouge to his place of refuge. Our text differs in an important point from that of Hakluyt, who says, "Going from the point Degrad . . . there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side," while in our text it is said that "one doubles two islands which lie to larboard." These islands Bishop Howley identifies as Big Sacred and Schooner Island in Pistolet Bay. The term "faire Degrat," invented by the early fishermen on the Banks of Newfoundland, came to mean quitting a place on the coast of that island for a better fishing-place, and is to be found in some modern French dictionaries.

[1] "À saultez à terre" in the manuscript.

flat and low ground, appearing to be the mainland. I named this island St. Catherine,[1] to the northeast of which there are dry shoals and bad bottom about a quarter-league, wherefore one should give it room. The said island is Castle Harbor,[2] bearing north-northeast and south-southwest, and it is fifteen leagues between them. And from the said Castle Harbor to Hillock Harbor,[3] which is the north shore of the said bay, bearing east-northeast and west-southwest, it is twelve leagues and a half between them. And at two leagues from the said Hillock Harbor is Whale Harbor,[4] opposite the which harbor, to

[1] "Saincte Katherine." Some writers have suggested that Cartier inclined to this name because it was that of his wife. Stephens, Ganong, and others suppose that the island now known as Belle Isle is the one indicated. Cartier's description, however, does not at all apply to Belle Isle, while it most accurately applies to Schooner Island. *Cf.* Jacques Cartier, Hiram B. Stephens, B.C.L., Montreal, 1890, p. 134; Jacques Cartier, Joseph Pope, Ottawa, 1890, p. 32; Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Montreal, 1894, p. 156.

[2] "L'hable des Chasteaulx" still preserves its ancient name in Château Bay, which was fitly applied to it on account of the remarkable form of its basaltic cliffs, which give it a castellated appearance. Harrisse (Découverte, p. 361) denominates it Baie d'Yorck.

[3] "L'hable des Buttes." Hakluyt says port of Gutte, and du Petit Val, porte des Gouttes. A butte is a knoll or hill, and Cartier applied this title to the place on account of the sand-hills which distinguish it. It is now known as Greenish Harbor.

[4] "L'hable de Balleine," the port of Balances of Hakluyt and du Petit Val. According to the manuscript the literal translation into English would be Whale Harbor. Whatever may have been the name applied to it by Cartier, it has exchanged it for that of Red Bay. Stephens says this harbor is Baie Royal. After leaving Whale Harbor Cartier found "trante huyt brasses et font *taygnay*." The latter word has attracted attention. Bishop Howley derives it from *teigneux*, scabby or scruffy. Littré gives *tangae* as the name of a gray sand found in the harbors and at the mouths of rivers in Normandy. The word is no doubt derived from the same root as our English tangle, an older form of which is *tang*, and Norman-French *tangon*, the name of several kinds of coarse seaweeds; hence I have translated the word *taygnay*, tangle-weed, which probably conveys the author's meaning.

wit, a third part of the way across the said bay, there are thirty-eight fathoms and bottom of tangle-weed. From the said Whale Harbor as far as to Blanc Sablon[1] it is twenty-five leagues to the said west-southwest, and it is necessary to give heed to a shoal that is above water, like a boat, to the south-east of the said Blanc Sablon. Three leagues beyond Blanc Sablon is a berth where there is no point of shelter from the south nor from the southeast. And there are to the south-southwest of this berth two islands, of which one is called Wood Island and the other Bird Island,[2] where there is a great number of *Godez* and of *Richars*,[3] which have the beak and feet red, and nest in holes underground like rabbits. Having doubled a headland which is a league from Blanc Sablon, there is a harbor and passage named

[1] "Blanc Sablon," the name which it still preserves, owing to the whiteness of its sandy shores when seen from the deck of a ship on a sunny day. Cartier appears to have sailed from Quirpon to the harbor of Brest without touching at the intervening places which he describes. The distance between Whale Harbor and Blanc Sablon he does not give in the manuscript, but Hakluyt gives it as fifteen and du Petit Val as twenty-five leagues, both of which are excessive. The unsheltered berth which he mentions three leagues from Blanc Sablon must be in Bradore Bay.

[2] "L'isle de Bouays" and "l'isle des Ouaiseaulx." The first still bears the title of Woody Island, but the latter is now known as Greenly Island.

[3] *Richars.* The bird here so particularly described can be no other than the puffin (*Fratercula arctica*), a bird of striking appearance, about twelve inches long, with legs so placed that it is obliged to sit far back like the auk. It flies with great swiftness, though its wings are short. The upper part of the body is dusky, cheeks and breast white, neck ringed with black, and legs and feet pink. Its most striking feature is its beak, which is very broad at the base, with a sharp cutting edge, bluish gray near the head and bright red to its obtuse point. It breeds in burrows which it excavates with its strong beak to a depth of two feet or more. All the birds mentioned by Cartier, except the great auk, still abound in the region visited by him, and a number of specimens are in the possession of the writer, having been obtained for him there.

the Islettes,[1] which is better than Blanc Sablon, and there great fishing is done. From said place of the Isles to a harbor named Brest,[2] by the said points of the compass, it is ten leagues. This harbor is in fifty-one degrees and fifty-five minutes of latitude and in . . . of longitude. From the Islettes to the said place there are islands, and the said Brest is among islands; and, moreover, ranging the coast for more than three leagues outward it is all islands for more than twelve leagues distant from the said Brest, which islands are low, and one sees the high lands over them.

The tenth day of the said month of June we entered into the said harbor of Brest with our ships in order to get water and wood. And we cleared and passed out of the said bay; and the day of St. Barnabas,[3] after mass was heard, we went with our boats

[1] "Les Islettes." This would seem to be Bradore Bay. Harrisse (Découverte, p. 362) calls it Havre de Labradore.

[2] Brest. It is to be noted that Cartier left Quirpon on the 9th and arrived at Brest the next day, which is a remarkably quick passage, and would not have permitted him to visit the intermediate places which he describes. Brest is now known as Old Fort, on account of a stone fortification having been erected there in the latter part of the sixteenth century to protect the French fishermen, who gathered there to pursue their laborious avocation. Lewis Robinson (Dictionary of Commerce, London, 1638) says that "it is computed that it contained two hundred houses and a thousand inhabitants in winter." It was deserted by the French early in the seventeenth century.

[3] "Sainct Barnabas." The 11th of June was, according to an ancient belief, a day in which storms were prevalent. Brand, quoting Festa Anglo Romana, p. 72, says that it is the day "when the sun seems to stand, and begins to go back, being the longest day in the year," or, as an old proverb puts it,

Barnaby Bright,
The longest day and shortest night.

So important a day in the calendar could hardly have been ignored by the pious Bretons.

beyond the said harbor toward the west, to discover and see what harbors were there. We passed among the islands, which are in so great number that it is not possible to count them, which continue about ten leagues beyond the said harbor. We lay in one of these islands to pass the night, and found there in great quantity the eggs of ducks and other birds which nest in the islands. The said islands were named All Islands.[1] The next day, the twelfth, we passed beyond the said islands, and at the end of the bulk of them we found a good harbor, which was named St. Anthony.[2] And about a league or two beyond we found a little stream very deep, which is on the west to the southwest and between two highlands. It is a good harbor, and a cross was planted at the said harbor and named St. Servan.[3] To the southwest of the said harbor and stream about a league there is an islet round like an oven, surrounded by many other smaller islets, which give knowledge of the said harbors. Ten leagues farther is another good stream, still larger, where there are many salmon. We named it the river St. James.[4] Being by it, we perceived a great ship which was from Rochelle, [the captain of] which had passed the night seeking the harbor of Brest, where he intended to go

[1] "Toutes Isles." The numerous islands beyond Brest plainly identify the locality. Cartier had left his ships at Brest and was now prosecuting his explorations in boats.

[2] "Sainct Anthoine." The present Rocky Bay. Harrisse (Découverte, p. 362) has it "Grande baie d'Omar."

[3] "Sainct Servan." Professor Ganong, in a very interesting paper on Cartier's route, decides that this is the present Lobster Bay. St. Servan is the name of a town adjoining St. Malo. *Vide* Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1887, vol. iv, p. 125.

[4] "La ripuiére Sainct Jacques." On various charts a little inlet, Baie du petit Pene, appears as the river St. James. It is highly improbable that Cartier refers to this insignificant inlet, as he speaks of it as being large.

to do his fishing and knew not where he was. We went alongside with our boats and put into another harbor a league more to the west than the said river St. James, the which I deem one of the good harbors of the world, and it was named Jacques Cartier Harbor.[1] If the land was as good as the harbors there are, it would be an advantage; but it should not be named the New Land, but [a land of] stones and rocks frightful and ill shaped, for in all the said north coast I did not see a cart-load of earth, though I landed in many places. Except at Blanc Sablon there is nothing but moss and small stunted woods; in short, I deem rather than otherwise, that it is the land that God gave to Cain. There are people in the said land who are well enough of body, but they are wild and savage folks. They have their hair tied upon their heads in the fashion of a fistful of hay trussed up, and a nail or some other thing passed through it, and therein they stick some feathers of birds. They clothe themselves with skins of beasts, both men and women, but the women are closer and tighter in their said skins, and girded about the body. They paint themselves with certain tawny colors. They have boats in which they go by sea, which are made of the bark of birch-trees, where-

There can be little doubt that he referred to Shecatica Bay, which has the appearance of being a large river when viewed from some points. The manuscript says that from St. Servan to this river is ten (*dix*) leagues, while Hakluyt and du Petit Val say two (*deux*) leagues. Such a difference in distance is calculated to cause confusion. Pope, accepting the shorter distance as nearly correct, suggests that the St. James River may be "La baie de Napetepe," and Jacques Cartier Harbor "La baie de Mistanoque."

[1] "L'hable Jacques Cartier." In spite of the fact that students of the cartography of this region have supposed this harbor to be Shecatica Bay, we agree with Professor Ganong that the real Cartier Harbor can be no other than Cumberland Bay, because it so much better answers the description. It is to be regretted that it has lost its ancient title.

with they fish a great many seals. Since having seen them I am sure that this is not their abode, and that they come from warmer lands in order to take the said seals and other things for their living.[1]

The thirteenth day we returned aboard with our said boats in order to set sail, because the weather was good. And Sunday, the 14th, we caused the mass to be sung, and Monday, the 15th, we got under way from the said Brest and set our course toward the south in order

[1] There has been considerable speculation regarding the ethnical relations of these savages. Many, including an authority like Ferland, have regarded them as Eskimos, while other writers have agreed that they were, quoting one of their number, some "tribu nomade de la grande famille algonquine." Cartier in his explorations, meeting with tribes unlike one another in speech and manners, noted these differences. In this case the trussing of the hair and painting in tawny colors are points which tend to identify these fishers in Cumberland Bay with the Beothiks, or Red Indians, whose history forms one of the most pathetic pages in the history of Newfoundland. They were probably the same people seen by Cabot and described by him as painting themselves with "red ochre," three of whom he captured and carried to England, where two years later they were seen by Fabian and mistaken for Englishmen. Whitbourn also alludes to their partiality for "red oaker, which they use to cover their bodies," and says that they are "an ingenious and subtill kind of people — so likewise are they tractable — when they have been gently and politickly dealt withall." Other writers agree that they were at first well disposed to Europeans, but owing to abuse withdrew from their settlements and retaliated upon them when occasion offered. As the English settlements grew in Newfoundland, it became almost a fixed belief with the settlers that it was as necessary to exterminate the Red Indians as it was wild beasts. Says Cartwright, who was an eye-witness of what he relates: "On the part of the English fishers their conduct is an inhumanity that sinks them far below the level of savages. The wantonness of their cruelties towards these poor wretches has frequently been almost incredible." Says Pilot: "For a period of nearly two hundred years this same kind of barbarity continued; and it was considered meritorious to shoot a Red Indian. To go to 'look for Indians' came to be as much a phrase as to 'look for partridges.' They were harassed from post to post, from island to island; their hunting and fishing stations were unscrupulously seized by the invading English. They were shot down without the least provocation, or captured to be exposed as curiosities to the rabble at fairs in the western towns of Christian England at two pence apiece." Men even boasted of the number of Indians they had shot, and

to get knowledge of the land that we saw appearing like two islands; but when we were in the midst of the bay or thereabouts, we knew that it was the mainland, from which was a great double cape, one above the other, and therefore we named it Cape Double.[1] In the midst of the bay we sounded a hundred fathoms, and the bottom clear. It is across from Brest to the said Cape Double about twenty leagues, and at five or six leagues we sounded at forty fathoms. We found the said land to be bearing northeast and southwest a quarter by north and by south.

The next day, the 16th of the said month, we steered along the coast toward the southwest, a quarter by south, about thirty-five leagues from Cape Double, where we found lands with mountains very high and forbidding, between which there was one appearing to be like a barn, and for this we named the place the Grange Mountains.[2] These high lands and moun-

scored the number on their gun-stocks. Of these people not one remains to-day; all have perished. *Vide* Anspach's History of Newfoundland, London, 1827, p. 457 *et seq.;* History of Newfoundland, D. W. Prowse, London, 1885, pp. 63–65; Chapell's Voyage to Newfoundland, London, 1818, pp. 169–197; Buchan's Narrative in History of Newfoundland, Rev. Charles Pedley, London, 1863, pp. 482–501; Whitbourn's Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, London, 1822, p. 2; Cours d'Histoire, Ferland, Quebec, 1882, p. 19; The Beothiks or Red Indians of Newfoundland, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1891, pp. 123–171; Journeys, Transactions and Events on Coast of Labrador, George Cartwright, Newark, 1792, vol. i, pp. 6–13, 71.

[1] "Cap Double." Cartier, having explored the Labrador coast, returned to Brest, and on the fourteenth day of June left the coast of Labrador to explore the westerly shores of Newfoundland. When about ten miles from the coast he descried the high lands beyond Point Rich, which had the appearance of a double cape; hence the name. The weather being thick and stormy, his distances were only estimates, and hence inaccurate. It is therefore necessary to confine our observations strictly to the topographical descriptions which he gives.

[2] "Les Monts de Granches." Differences of opinion exist respecting

tains are hacked and furrowed, and between them and the sea are low lands. The said day before we had no knowledge of any land for the fogs and the darkness of the weather that prevailed, and toward evening a fault in the land appeared to us like an entrance of a river between the said Grange Mountains and a cape, which lay to the south-southwest about three leagues from us. The top of this cape is wholly lopped off, and the base toward the sea is pointed, and therefore we named it Pointed Cape.[1] At a league to the north of it there is a flat island.

And because we wished to get sight of this entrance to see if there was any good position and harbor, we struck sail for to pass the night.

The next day, the 17th of the said month, we had a gale of wind from the northeast, and got under reef to stand onward with the mainsail, and made way, sailing southwest thirty-seven leagues until Thursday morning, when we were athwart a bay full of round

the reason for this name. Hakluyt, following Ramusio, who gives the name Monti delle grange, calls them the Hut Mountains, because they appeared to Cartier like huts or barns. Several writers, among them Stephens (p. 135), already cited, suggest that the name was bestowed upon them by Cartier in honor of his wife, whose maiden name was Granches. They were a part of the ridge of mountains extending along the western coast of Newfoundland back of Bay Ingornachoix. The "fault" mentioned was doubtless Sand Bay.

[1] "Cap Pointu," the Tête de Vache of the French, now Cow Head. The island about a league to the north is now known as Stearing Island. With the wind northeast Cartier got under way with reefed mainsail. Being unacquainted with the coast, it is not probable that an experienced navigator like Cartier would run his ship before the wind toward the southwest. The fact that he made sail under a reefed mainsail is against such a supposition. In running before the wind he would have used the foresail or foretopsail. The natural inference is that he lay to with the ship heading off the shore and drifted slowly to leeward until Thursday morning, when he saw through the fog and mist a bay full of islands. This is the opinion of a skilful navigator in this region.

islands like dove-cotes, and therefore we gave them the name of Dove-cotes,[1] and the bay, St. Julian; from the which to a cape which lies to the south a quarter from the southwest, which was named Cape Royal,[2] it is seven leagues. And to the west-southwest of the said cape there is another cape, which is much scarfed off at the base of it and round at the top; to the north of which about a half-league there is a low island. This cape was named Cape

[1] "Coulonbiers," that is, Dove-cotes. Hakluyt calls them "Islands of Dove-houses," and Lescarbot Isles Ramées. Cartier seems to have been reminded of a cluster of islands to the west of St. Malo at the entrance of the Arguenon. These islands were in the Bay St. Julian, and it is necessary to identify this bay. Ganong and Harrisse, both excellent authorities, suppose it to be Bonne Bay, while Pope and Howley, also well versed in the cartography of the region, believe it to be the Bay of Islands, south of Bonne Bay. Although, as frequently, there is a discrepancy in Cartier's distances, which is not to be wondered at considering the circumstances, a careful study of the subject, fortified by the experience of one familiar with the locality, and the fact that I find no other place which answers Cartier's description, leads me to the opinion that his St. Julian can be no other than the Bay of Islands. Regarding the name bestowed upon it, the Abbé Verreau remarks: "Il semble avoir eu une dévotion particulière pour S. Julien, premier évèque du Mans. Ce veritable thaumaturge était représenté dans un des vitraux peints que ornaient la salle principale la maison de Limoilou." *Vide* Jacques Cartier, Pope, p. 38 *et seq.*; Découverte, Harrisse, p. 362; Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1890, p. 136.

[2] "Cap Royal." The present Bluff Head. It is just seven leagues from the Bay of Islands. It is the highest land between them and Porte à Porte. Cartier, exploring with his boats, found over the low sands a deep bay with islands therein, "the which is toward the south of the said low lands which form one side of the entrance and Cap Royal the other." Cap Royal therefore formed one side of the entrance to Porte à Porte and could have been no other than Bluff Head. Bishop Howley supposes Cap Royal to be Bear Head, or Cap l'Ours, said to be a corruption of Cap Louis, and Ganong supposes it to be Cape Gregory. Cartier says, "Between these two capes there are low lands." The lands between Bear Head and Bluff Head are high lands, but between Bluff Head and Cape St. George it is all low land. The first land to attract attention when three or four miles off the Bay of Islands looking toward Porte à Porte is Bluff Head.

Delatte.[1] Between these two capes there are low lands, above which there are some very high, where there seem to be streams. At two leagues from Cape Royal it is twenty fathoms in depth, and the greatest fishing of big codfish that can be possible, of which codfish we took in while waiting for our consort more than a hundred in less than an hour.

The next day, the 18th day of the said month, the weather was against us and the wind high, and we turned back toward Cape Royal, thinking to find a harbor. With our boats we went to explore between the said Cape Royal and Cape Delatte, and found that over the low lands there is a great bay very deep, and islands[2] therein, the which

[1] "Cap Delatte." Capo del Latte of Ramusio, Cap de Laict of du Petit Val, and therefore translated by Hakluyt Cape of Milk. Abbé Verreau suggests that *latte* is a corruption of the Celtic *laes*, signifying elevated, and says that it is not the only time, unfortunately, that a geographical name has been completely changed, thanks to the foul dealing (*trahison*) of translators ; but this is going too far afield in search of the etymology of the name given this rocky cape by Cartier. He saw it when it was churning milk-white, the waters driven upon it by a storm of wind, and why should he not have given it the homely title of Cap d'Lait, or Cape Milk ? It is now known as Cape St. George. The following are the reasons for this opinion : It is south-southwest from Bluff Head, and there is an island about half a league to the north which, though high, appears flat from the sea and lower than it is, owing to the much higher land back of it. The headland opposite the island is round at the top and falls away at the base, especially when viewed from the west. Bishop Howley thinks Cap Delatte is Round Head, but this would bring the island Cartier saw, which is Isle Rouge, or Red Island, now a French fishing-station, to the southwest. An ingenious attempt to reconcile this important discrepancy may be found in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1894, p. 160 *et seq.;* but if Round Head answered the description, it is unlikely that a small rock resembling "a lion couchant" would attract the attention of a practical seaman as forcibly as a prominent headland extending miles into the sea like Cape St. George.

[2] Cartier went to explore with his boats, and, it would seem, discovered Porte à Porte Bay, Fox Island, which is well within the entrance, the Fox Island River, and Three Guts. Why he "held to sea for the night"

is close toward the south of the said low lands, which form one side of the entrance, and Cape Royal the other. The said low lands make out into the sea more than half a league, of flat country and bad ground, and midway of the entrance is an island. The said bay is in forty-eight and a half degrees of latitude and in . . . degrees of longitude. This day we found no harbor for to lay to, and stood to sea for the night, the cape to west.

From the said day until the 24th day of the said month, which is St. John's Day, we had storms and contrary wind and shut in so that we could get no sight of land until the said St. John's Day, when we got sight of a headland which lay to the southeast, which, in our estimation, lay to the southwest of Cape Royal about thirty-five leagues. And this day were fogs and foul weather, and we could not approach the said land, and because it was the day of my Lord St. John we named the cape St. John.[1]

The next day, the 25th day, was foul weather, dark and windy, and we made her go to west-northwest part of the day, and in the evening we

with so good a harbor at hand is not readily explained. It will be seen that in the edition of du Petit Val it is said that having no port Cartier withdrew to sea, "apres avoir tourné le Cap à l'Ouest," that is, Long Point. The words emphasized are not in the manuscript, and are an important addition, as they indicate that he went outside the bay which he had explored.

[1] "Sainct Jehan." This has generally been thought to be Cape Anguille, or Eel Cape. Howley supposes that Cartier applied the name Sainct Jehan to a cape some miles northeast of Cape Anguille, because of the fact apparently that this cape on some old maps is so denominated. This in itself would be hardly sufficient proof, as names in this region were frequently moved from one place to another, the cape in question furnishing a curious example. The distances given by Cartier were estimated,

put across until the larboard watch was set, and then, by our reckoning, we were to the northwest a quarter west from the aforesaid Cape St. John seventeen leagues and a half. And when we were getting under sail the wind was northwest, and we made her go to the southwest fifteen leagues, and came to find three islands, of which two of them were small and upright like walls, so that it was not possible to climb to the top, between which there is a little opening. These islands are as full of birds as a field of grass, which nest within these islands, of which the greatest was full of *Margaulx*, which are white and bigger than geese. And in the other there was likewise a large number of them, and the next was full of *Godez*, and below there were likewise the said *Godez* and great *Apponatz*, which were like those of the island of which mention was heretofore made. We landed at the base of the smallest, and killed more than a thousand *Godez* and *Apponatz*, and took in our boats what we wanted of them. One could have loaded there in an hour thirty of these boats. We named these islands Margaulx Islands.[1] At five

and therefore it is not strange, as before remarked, that they are inaccurate. Hakluyt and du Petit Val give the distance as seven and a half leagues that Cartier sailed to the northwest after leaving the cape, instead of seventeen and a half as in the manuscript. Such discrepancies increase the difficulty of identifying places mentioned by him.

[1] "Isles de Margaulx." Unmistakably the Bird Rocks, Cartier's description being most exact. There are really only two rocks, but the sea beating against one of them has bored a passage (*forillon*) through it, so that they appear like three separate rocks. They still swarm with gannets and other birds as in Cartier's day, and the flat top of one of them is reached by a rude stairway, where the Canadian government maintains a lighthouse. Audubon visited the Bird Rocks, and thus describes them in his Ornithological Biography (Edinburgh, 1838, vol. iv, p. 224): "The top of the main rock is a quarter of a mile wide from north to south, but narrow in the other direction. It stands in latitude 47° 52′. The surf

leagues from the said islands was another island to the west of them, which is about two leagues long and as many wide. We were laid to there for the night to get water and firewood. This island is ranged with sands and good bottom, and a passage all about it toward six or seven fathoms. This said island is the best land that we have seen, for an acre of this land is better worth than all New Land. We found it full of goodly trees, meadows, fields of wild corn,[1] and with peas in flower as thick and as fair as never I saw in Brittany, so that they seem to have been sown there by husbandmen. There are in plenty gooseberries, strawberries, and roses of Provence,[2] parsley, and other goodly herbs of excellent odor. There are about this island many great beasts, like great oxen, which have two teeth in their chops, like teeth of the elephant, that go in the sea, of which there was one that was asleep on the land at the edge of the water, and we went with our boats with intent to take her, but directly we were near her, she threw herself into the sea.[3] We saw there

beats its base with great violence unless after a long calm, and it is extremely difficult to land upon it, and still more so to ascend to the top or platform. The only point upon which a boat may be landed lies on the south side, and the moment the boat strikes, it must be hauled dry on the rocks. The whole surface of the upper platform is closely covered with nests placed about two feet asunder, and in such regular order that a person may see between the lines which run north and south as if looking along the furrows of a deeply ploughed field. The Labrador fishermen kill thousands for bait."

[1] Wild corn. There can be little doubt that what Cartier saw was *Uvularia sessilifolia*, which still grows in this region, and is popularly called wild oats.

[2] Roses of Provence. According to Hakluyt, "damaske roses." The rose of Provence is the cabbage-rose (*Rosa centifolia*), but this could not have been what Cartier saw; indeed, his rose of Provence was the *Rosa lucida*, which flourishes there at the present time.

[3] This animal was the morse or walrus (*Trichechus rosmarus*). Popu-

likewise bears and foxes. This island was named Brion Island.[1] About these islands there are high tides which set nearly southeast and northwest. I presume rather than otherwise, by what I have seen, that there may be another passage between New Land and the land of the Bretons.[2] If so it were, it would be a great shortening as well of the time as of the way, if perfection be found in this voyage. At four leagues from the said island there is a fine cape which we named Cape Dauphin,[3] because it is the beginning of good lands.

The 27th of the said month of June we ranged

larly these monsters, which so astonished the early voyagers to Northern regions, were called sea-horses and sea-oxen, and expeditions were fitted out at an early date from New England ports to take them — their skins and oil, and especially their tusks, which were from twelve to eighteen inches in length, being valuable. It is said that their hides were double the thickness of bulls' hides, and that their ivory was of so fine a quality that comb- and knife-makers paid for it double the price of ordinary ivory. The indiscriminate slaughter of these valuable animals soon wrought their destruction.

[1] "Ille de Bryon." So named for Cartier's patron, Philippe de Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, Grand Admiral of France, a name which it still happily bears, though sometimes distorted to Byron by those living in the vicinity, many of whom insist, as one did to the writer, that it was so named for Lord Byron.

[2] "Land of the Bretons." In other versions "land of Brion," which is an error. From this it might appear that a southern passage between the island of Cape Breton and Newfoundland was unknown at this time, or Cartier, who must have been versed in the knowledge of the region then extant, would not have made this remark. There is reason, however, to believe that the Portuguese had explored these waters long before Cartier's visit. *Vide* Découverte, Harrisse (in which the author quotes from Portuguese sources), vol. i, pp. xxv, 86, 135, 218, *et passim*.

[3] "Cap du Daulphin." Neither Stephens nor Harrisse ventures an attempt to designate this cape. The course taken by Cartier should have brought him to the northern coast of Coffin's Island, and the cape which he saw must have been North Cape. In describing his course along the northern shore of Coffin's Island at a considerable distance therefrom, the wind being strongly offshore so that he was unable to approach or land, he noticed the hillocks of sand, which, although the shores have considerably

the said land, which bears east-northeast and west-southwest, and seems from afar as it were hillocks of sand, because they are lands low and arenaceous. We could neither go to nor land at them because the wind came thence, and we ranged them that day about fifteen leagues.

The next day we ranged this land about ten leagues as far as a cape of red land, which is a shorn cape, within which there is a breach which falls off to the north and low country. There is a ridge and pebbly beach[1] which is between the sea and a pond. From this cape of land and pond to another cape of land it is about four leagues. This makes the land into a half-circle, and all ranged with sand formed like a ditch, over which and beyond it there are in like manner marshes and ponds as far as one can see. And before arriving at the first cape there

changed since Cartier's visit, are familiar to-day to those who skirt them, and tend strongly to identify the locality of the cape which Cartier named after the Dauphin, Duke Francis, who died shortly after, viz., in 1536. North Cape is still called by the French inhabitants of the Magdalen Islands Cap du Dauphin. The hillocks of sand which he observed on the 27th are still prominent objects.

[1] In the original "sillon et perroy." These words have been a great puzzle to students of the Relation Originale. They do not appear in other versions. *Sillon* means a furrow as thrown up by the plow. *Silloner* (*vide* Littré *in loco*) is to ridge, to groove; hence from the latter signification the English silo, a pit. There is no word *perroy*, but there is *perron* and *perré*. The former is an architectural term which would hardly apply to the case. I have no doubt whatever that the word should be *perré*, which I have translated "pebbly beach," for this is just what one sees to-day bordering the ridge between the sea and the pond which Cartier describes. Littré gives the meaning of *perré* as the "rivage de la mer couvert de pierres." Du Petit Val has "une petite plain" in place of these words, and Hakluyt "a plaine field." There is a secondary meaning which may account for this mistranslation, viz., plowland, i.e., level land suitable for cultivation. The use of the word by Cartier was suggested by the *sillon* of St. Malo, the old causeway with which he had been familiar from childhood.

are two little islands pretty near the land, and at five leagues from the said second cape there is an island to the southwest which is very high and sharp, which by us was named Allezay.[1] The first cape was named Cape St. Peter,[2] because we arrived there the day of the said saint.

From the said Brion Island as far as to the said

[1] "Allezay." The Abbé Verreau supposes the name to have been given this island in honor of Cartier's sister-in-law, Alizon des Granches. There is, however, a commune of Louviers named Alisay, which Cartier may have had in mind. The attempts to identify this island have resulted in widely different conclusions; thus, de Costa takes it to be a part of Prince Edward's Island; Pope and Ganong recognize it as Deadman's Island, on the southwest coast of Amherst Island; Kohl thinks it is "near the North Point of Prince Edward's Island"; Stephens that it is "Prince Edward's Island, or it may be one of the Magdalen Islands"; and Bishop Howley, Entry Island. Bishop Howley's view appears quite as untenable as that of de Costa, Kohl, or Stephens. It is incredible that a navigator intent upon discovery could have sailed from North Cape without noticing one of the prominent headlands, and then enter into a minute description of a small red point at the head of Pleasant Bay. If Cartier passed between Entry Island and Sandy Hook and entered Pleasant Bay by that route, he would certainly have mentioned it. The two little islands near the land must be Pierre de Gros Cap and the White Horse, now submerged, and as Deadman's Island bears about southwest from the cape nearest to and opposite Pierre de Gros Cap and White Horse it can be no other than Cartier's Allezay. *Vide* Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1887, p. 128; 1894, pp. 78, 166; 1900, p. 137; Jacques Cartier, Joseph Pope, Ottawa, 1890, p. 44; Documentary History of Maine, J. G. Kohl, Portland, 1869, vol. i, p. 326; Narrative and Critical History of America, Justin Winsor, Boston, 1889, vol. iv, p. 49; Jacques Cartier, Hiram B. Stephens, Montreal, 1890, p. 135.

[2] "Cap Sainct Pierre." The present Southwest Cape. The name in this case, as in others, was doubtless applied to the entire headland as it appeared from the sea, and not to any one particular feature. Bishop Howley supposes this cape to be Red Cape and the pond mentioned to be the Étang du Nord, popularly Tantanour; but the Étang du Nord is about four miles north of Red Cape, with the highlands of Grindstone intervening, and could not possibly have come under Cartier's observation from Red Cape had he visited it; nor is it a pond at all, but simply an indentation of the land formed into a sort of basin by Gull Island, which may once have been joined to Grindstone on the northeast. West Lake, however, answers Cartier's description. The shore where Cartier landed was

place there is a fair bottom of sand and sure depth, which shallows as one approaches the land. Likewise at five leagues from land there are twenty-five fathoms, and at one league twelve fathoms; alongside the land six fathoms, and everywhere fair bottom. And because we would get more ample knowledge of the said region we struck sails and brought to.

And the next day, preceding the last day of the said month, the wind came to the south a quarter southwest, and we ran until Tuesday, the last day of the said month, at sunrise, without having sight of any land, save that in the evening, at sunsetting, we saw land appearing like two islands, which lay to west-southwest about nine or ten leagues. And this day we made to the west until the next day at sunrise, about forty leagues; and making way, we had knowledge of the land, which had appeared to us like two islands, that it was the mainland, which bore south-southeast and north-northwest as far as to a very fair headland, named Cape Orléans.[1] All this is low,

very red; so is Southwest Cape, while at Étang du Nord it is dark blue, gray, and red. West Lake is divided from the sea by a ridge of sand and pebbly shore, a *sillon et perroy*, and the beach falls off to the north with a low country. At Étang du Nord the land falls off to the south, while toward the north the land is high and projects into the sea. The two little islands Pierre de Gros Cap and White Horse would both have been passed before reaching Southwest Cape, and but one before reaching Étang du Nord. Entry Island is distant about four leagues from Southwest Cape and brings the land into a half-circle. In Cartier's time it was most likely connected with Sandy Hook.

[1] "Cap d'Orleans." We may assume that Cartier anchored his ships on the night of the 28th of June in the vicinity of Cape St. Peter, and the next morning departed, the wind south a quarter west. Sailing westward in order to fetch clear of Amherst Island, he would have to stand out on a course east by south, a quarter south for about ten miles. He would then tack and steer west three quarters south, which, with moderate wind and

level land, the fairest that it may be possible to see, and full of goodly trees and meadows; but in it we could not find a harbor, because it is low land and a sunken country, and wholly ranged with sands. We were there in several places with our boats, and, among others, within a fair stream of little depth, where we saw boats of savages who were crossing the said stream, which was therefore named the River of Boats.[1] And we had no other knowledge of them, because the wind came from the sea, which beat upon the shore, and it behooved us to withdraw with our said boats to our ships. And we made her go to the northeast until the next day at sunrise, the

the tide setting out of the gulf, as it always does at that time of the year, would bring him by sunset into a position to see Campbell's and Sylvester Points, on the northerly shore of Prince Edward's Island. He must have approached the coast, for he discovered the next day that it was the mainland, along which he sailed for forty leagues to Cap d'Orleans, doubtless the present Cape Kildare. The distance between the two points named, which appear like two islands, and Cape Kildare is just about forty leagues, which is additional proof of the correctness of the position here assumed. Professor Ganong supposes the two capes which looked like islands to be Tryon and Turner. Cap d'Orleans he identifies as Cape Kildare. M. de Cazes combats this opinion in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1890, p. 26 *et seq.* The length of time taken by Cartier leads to the opinion that after leaving the Magdalens he ran out of the wind. An old navigator in these waters tells me that he has often left the islands in the morning in the months of June and July, and at a distance of seven or eight miles ran into nearly a calm with occasional light breezes from the west and northwest, which has caused him to take about the same time that Cartier took to sight Prince Edward's Island.

[1] "Ripuiere des Barcques." Finding the land he had met an impediment to his progress, his chief aim being a westerly passage, Cartier would follow the shore, hoping to find an opening in the coast which seemed to promise the looked-for passage, and would naturally run into the Narrows in Richmond Bay, which we may well identify as the Ripuiere des Barcques. The extensive kitchen-middens in the vicinity attest the long occupation of the region by the Indians. Some writers have supposed that the Bay of Miramichi was the Ripuiere des Barcques, but this opinion cannot be supported.

first day of July, at which time came fogs and tempest, and we struck sails until about ten o'clock, when it cleared up and we had sight of the said Cape Orléans and of another, which lay from it about seven leagues to the north, a quarter from the northeast, which was named Savages' Cape,[1] to the northeast of which, about a half-league, there is a shoal and bank of very dangerous stones. At this cape we saw a man, who ran after our boats along the shore, who made us many signs that we should return toward the said cape; and we, seeing such signs, gave orders to row toward him, and he, seeing that we turned back, began to flee and ran away ahead of us. We landed opposite him and put a knife and girdle of wool on a rod for him, and then we went away to our ships. This day we ranged the said land nine or ten leagues, thinking to find a harbor, which we could not, for, as I have heretofore said, it is low and sunken land. We landed there this day in four places for to see the trees, which are wonderfully fair and of excellent odor, and found that they were cedars, yews, pines, white elms, ash, willows, and many others to us unknown, all trees without fruits. The lands where there are no woods are very fair and all so full of peas, gooseberries, white and red, strawberries, raspberries, and wild corn, like rye, that it seems to have been sown and cultivated there. This land is of the best temperature that it

[1] "Le Cap des Sauvages." This would be North Point, and Cartier's description of the locality after leaving it so exactly tallies with its appearance to-day as to leave no doubt that he was coasting along the northerly shore of Prince Edward's Island. The title "Cap des Sauvages" appears on maps a century after Cartier's visit to this region affixed to Point Escuminac, west of North Point and distant therefrom about thirty miles.

may be possible to see, and of great warmth, and there are many turtle-doves, wood-pigeons, and other birds; there is no lack but of harbors.

The next day, the second day of July, we sighted land to the north of us, which held with that hitherto wholly ranged, and we knew that this was a bay which has about twenty leagues of depth and as many of width. We named it Bay St. Leonarius.[1] We made for the cape toward the north with our boats, and found the country so sunken that at more than a league from land there was only a fathom of water. To the northeast of the said cape, about seven or eight leagues, lay another headland, and between the two there was a bay, in the manner of a triangle,[2] which was very deep, whereof the farthest that we could see of it lay to the northeast of us, and was wholly ranged with sands, a sunken country. At ten leagues' distance from land there is a depth of twenty fathoms.[3] From the said last cape as far as to the said end and headland it is fifteen leagues. And we being athwart the said cape descried other lands and

[1] "Sainct Limaire," or, according to the version of du Petit Val, "St. Lunaire." L'Abbé Hospice Verreau, in his interesting notes on the Calendrier civil et ecclesiastique, remarks that "la fête de S. Lunaire — Leonarius — est marquée au 1er Juillet, mais elle pouvait être renvoyée au 2 à cause de l'octave de la fête de S. Jean Baptiste si chere aux Malouins." *Vide* Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1890, p. 136. Lescarbot says that St. Limaire is Tregate. Doubling the Cap des Sauvages, Cartier sailed along the coast, sighting the land of New Brunswick on the opposite side of the Strait of Northumberland, the entrance to which he supposed was a bay, and named it Sainct Limaire; then, crossing over toward the New Brunswick coast, he made Escuminac, and, looking across in a northerly direction, saw the headland opposite.

[2] This bay in the form of a triangle is unmistakably the present Miramichi.

[3] *Cf.* Edition du Petit Val, which says: "Ce Golfe est enuironné de sablons et lieux bas par dix lieües et n'y a plus de deux brasses de fond," which seems the better statement.

a cape which lay to the north of us a quarter northeast, all in sight.[1] That night there was bad weather and a great wind, and it behooved us to heave to under storm-sails until morning, the third day of July, when the wind hauled to west, and we stood on north to get sight of the said land, which was a high land which lay to the north-northeast of us above the low lands, between which low lands and the high there was a great bay and opening, where there was a depth of fifty-five fathoms in some places, and a width of about fifteen leagues; and on account of the said depth and beach and changing of lands we had hope of there finding passage as there is at the passage of the Castles. This bay[2] bears east-northeast and west-southwest, and the land toward the south of the said bay is as fair as good land, arable and full of as goodly fields and meadows as we may have seen, and level as a pond; and that toward the north is a high land, with mountains all full of trees of tall growth, of many sorts, and among others are many cedars and firs as goodly as it may be possible to behold for to make masts sufficient to mast ships of three hundred tons and more; in which we did not see a single place void of woods, save in two places of low lands, where were very beautiful meadows and lakes. The midmost of the said bay is in forty-seven degrees and a half of latitude, and seventy-three degrees of longitude. The cape of the said south land was named

[1] Ganong takes this to be Blackland Point, which, however, lies north, magnetic.

[2] This bay was the present Bay Chaleur, or, as Hakluyt translates it, "The Bay of Heat," so named by Cartier on account of the hot weather he experienced there. He says that the extent of the bay was seen, "for which we were dollans et masriz"; that is, they were grievously disappointed at not finding the open passage they were seeking to Cathay.

Cape Hope,[1] for the hope that we had of there finding passage. And the fourth day of the said month, the day of St. Martin, we ranged the said north land in order to find a harbor, and entered into a little bay and land berth all open to the south, where there is no shelter from the said wind, and we named the berth St. Martin[2]; and we were within the said berth from the fourth day even to the twelfth day of the said July. And while we were in the said berth we went on Monday, the 6th, after having heard mass, with one of our boats to explore a cape and point of land[3] which lay at seven or eight leagues to the west of us, for to see how the said land trended; and we being a half-league from said point perceived two bands of savages in boats, which crossed from their shore to the other, where they were more than forty or fifty boats, and of which one of the said companies of boats arrived at the said point, from which a great number of people leaped and landed on shore, who made a great noise, and made many signs that we should go ashore, showing us skins upon sticks. And because we had but a single boat we would not go there, and rowed toward the other band, which was on the

[1] "Cap d'Espérance," or Cape Hope, now Point Miscou. Cartier gave it this name because of his hope of here finding the long-looked-for passage to Cathay. Several other navigators applied this title to capes discovered by them under hopeful circumstances, as the Cape of Good Hope, so named by Vasco da Gama; Cabo Spera, now corrupted to Point Spear; and Bonne Espérance on the coast of Labrador. Strangely enough, the name has been corrupted to Cape Despair and moved from its original position to the peninsula of Gaspé.

[2] "Sainct Martin," now Port Daniel, denominated by Cartier "une couche de terre."

[3] Paspebiac Point, which Cartier says he went to discover after hearing mass on the 6th of July, which the Abbé Verreau points out was the Fête de la Transfiguration.

sea. And they, seeing that we fled, equipped two of their largest boats for to come after us, with which were banded five others of those who came from the sea, and they came until near our said boat, dancing and making many signs of wanting our friendship, saying to us in their language: "Napou tou daman asurtar," and other words which we did not understand.[1] Because we had, as was said, only one of our boats, we would not trust to their signs, and we made signs to them that they should withdraw, which they would not do, but rowed with such great fury that they surrounded our said boat with their seven boats. And because for the sign that we made them they would not retire, we fired two volleys over them, and then they fell to to return to the said point, and made a marvelously great noise, after which they began to return toward us as before; and they being very near our said boat, we let go at them two fusees, which passed among them, which astonished them greatly, so much so that they betook themselves to flight in very great haste and came after us no more. The next day a part of the said savages came with nine boats to the point and entrance of the berth where

[1] "Napou tou daman asurtar." Translated by Belleforest, "We wish to have your friendship," but which Lescarbot tells us was not the language of the Indians seventy years later. We now know that during this period devastating wars had changed the relations of the tribes which Cartier met. These savages, there is reason to believe, were Micmacs, nomads by nature, who pitched their rude wigwams wherever the waters promised sufficient food to temporarily supply their wants. To them we owe the kitchen-middens, which are everywhere found in this region, and which yield to the searcher their rude implements of bone and chipped stone. Schoolcraft differs from Belleforest. *Vide* History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Philadelphia, 1868, part vi, p. 52. He says "*napou* means man. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that they were a party of Sheshatapoosh Indians, whose language proves them to be kindred with the great Algonquin family."

we were lying with our ships, and we, being advertised of their coming, went with our two boats to the said point and entrance where they were, and directly that they perceived us they set out to fly, making us signs that they would come to traffic with us, and showing us some skins of little value wherewith they rig themselves out. We likewise made them a sign that we did not wish them any ill, and set two men to land for to go to them to carry them knives and other iron wares, and a red hat to give to their captain. And they seeing this, a part of them went to land with the said skins and trafficked together, and displayed a great and marvelous joy to get and secure the said iron wares and other things, dancing and performing many ceremonies, by throwing sea-water upon their heads with their hands, and giving us all that they had, insomuch that they returned home wholly naked, without having anything on them, and made us signs that the next day they would return with some other skins.

Thursday, the 8th[1] of the said month, because the wind was not good to go out with our ships, we fitted out our said boats in order to go and explore the said bay, and ran that day within it about twenty-five leagues. And the next day, in the morning, we had fair weather and carried sail until about ten o'clock in the morning, in which time we had knowledge of the depth of the said bay, for which we were disappointed and grieved, at the end of which bay there were over the low lands very high mountainous lands. And seeing that there was no thoroughfare we began to return, and making our way along

[1] This should be the 9th, as Thursday fell on that date.

the coast we saw the said savages on the shore of a pond[1] and low lands where they were making many fires and smokes. We went to the said place and found that it had a sea entrance, which entered into said pond, and we put our said boats to one side of the said entrance. The said savages passed over with one of their boats and fetched us some pieces of seals all cooked, which they put upon pieces of wood and then withdrew, making us a sign that they gave them to us. We sent two men ashore with hatchets and knives, paternosters, and other goods, for which they showed great joy, and forthwith passed in a crowd with their boats to the side where we were, with skins and whatever they had in order to get of our goods. And they were in number, of men, women, and children as well, more than three hundred, of which part of their women, who did not pass over, danced and sung, standing in the sea up to their knees. The other women, who had passed to the other side where we were, came freely to us and stroked our arms with their hands, and then raised their joined hands to the sky, making many signs of joy; and so much did they trust themselves with us that at last we traded hand to hand with them for all that they had, which were things of little value. We conceive that these are people who would be easy to convert, who go from one place to another, living and taking fish in the time of fishing for victual. Their land is more temperate in heat than the land of Spain, and the most goodly that may be possible to see, and as level as a pond. And there is not here any little spot void of woods and made up of sand, which

[1] Ganong places this pond at Tracadigash Point.

may not be full of wild grain, which has an ear like rye, and the kernel like oats, and peas as thick as if one had sown and cultivated them; gooseberries, white and red, strawberries, raspberries, and red roses, and other herbs of sweet and powerful odor; likewise there are many fair meadows and good herbs, and ponds where there are plenty of salmon. I judge more than otherwise that these people would be easy to convert to our holy faith. They call a hatchet in their tongue *Cochy* and a knife *Bacan*.[1] We named the said bay, Bay Chaleur.[2]

We, being sure that there was not any passage by the said bay, hoisted sail and got under way from the said berth St. Martin on Sunday, the twelfth day of July, for to go to search and discover beyond the said bay, and we made her go to the east along the coast, which bears thus about eighteen leagues as far as to Cape Pratto.[3] And there we found a marvelous tide, little depth, and the sea very boisterous, and it

[1] *Cochy*, *Bacan*. These were savages of the same race which he had recently met. Schoolcraft, however, says: "These are not terms used to designate a hatchet and a knife, neither in Mic Mac in the old Algonquin, nor in the Wyandot." *Vide* History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Philadelphia, 1868, part i, p. 64.

[2] "Baye de Chaleur." Lescarbot criticizes the application of this title to the bay. He says Jacques Cartier "dit qu'il fait plus chaut, qu'en Hespagne: en quoy je ne le croiray point jusques a ce qu'il y ait fait vn autre voyage attendu le climat; mais il se peut faire que par accident il y faisoit fort chaut quand il y fut, qui estoit au mois de Juillet." The Indian name was Momebactabääk, which is said to mean the Biggest Bay. *Vide* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1612, tome i, p. 213.

[3] "Cap de Pratto," or, according to Belleforest (*vide* L'Histoire Universelle du Monde, à Paris, 1577, p. 362), "Cap du pre." One cannot read this account without at once calling to mind the well-known letters of John Rut and Albert de Prato, Canon of St. Paul, written seven years before to Cardinal Wolsey (Purchas His Pilgrimes, London, 1625, vol. iii, p. 809), describing his voyage to the New Land, which he had just reached. Was this place named for de Prato, and, if so, was it

behooved us to hug the land between the said cape and an island, which is to the east of it about a league, and there dropped anchor for the night. And the next day, in the morning, we made sail in order to try to range the said coast, which bears north-north-east; but there arose so much contrary wind that it compelled us to put in where we had left, and we were there the said day and night until the next day, when we made sail and came off a stream, which is five or six leagues from the said cape to the north. And we being off this stream, the wind came against us and thick fogs and obscurity, and compelled us to enter into this stream on Tuesday, the 14th of the said month, and we lay at the entrance until the 16th, hoping to have good weather to go out. And the said day, the 16th, which was Thursday, the wind increased so much that one of our ships lost an anchor, and it behooved us to enter seven or eight leagues farther up this stream, in a good and safe harbor that we had been to see with our boats.[1] And owing to the evil weather, the storm and obscurity that it caused, we were in this harbor and stream until the 25th day of the said month, without being able

known to Cartier? These are curious questions which will probably never be solved. The place is now known as White Head, and the "marvelous tide" still prevails there. It has been suggested that it was named by Cartier after the French Chancellor du Pratt, but it seems more probable that the name was attached to it before Cartier's visit. Cartier's place of anchorage was between White Head and Bonaventure Island.

[1] The present Gaspé Bay. His first anchorage was in the outer bay, but the next day he proceeded up into the basin, where he remained for some days. The word Gaspé, or "Gachepé," as Champlain has it, is said to be a corruption of a word of Abnakian origin, Katsépioui, signifying separated, and to refer to a rock in the vicinity of Cape Gaspé, which has been torn off and separated from the land. *Vide* Chronicles of the St. Lawrence, J. M. Le Moine, p. 9; Sketch of Gaspésia, Langeliér, Quebec, 1884, for full account.

to go out, during the which time we saw a great number of savages, who had come into the said stream to fish for mackerel, of which there is great abundance; and there were men, women, and children as well, more than two hundred persons, who had about forty boats, who, after having been a little on land with them, came freely with their boats close alongside our ships. We gave them knives, paternosters of glass, combs, and other articles of little worth, for which they made many signs of joy, raising their hands to the sky while singing and dancing in their boats. These people can well be called savages, because they are the poorest folks that there may be in the world, for altogether they have not the value of five sous, their boats and their fishing-nets excepted. They are wholly naked, except a little skin with which they cover their private parts, and some old skins of beasts which they throw over them scarf-wise.[1] They are not by nature nor tongue like the first we found.[2] They have their heads shorn close all about, except a tuft on the top of the head, which they leave long like a horse's tail, which they tie and bind upon their heads in a lump with thongs of leather. They have no other lodgings but under their said

[1] In the manuscript, "en escharpes"; in du Petit Val, "a la mode des Ægyptiens."

[2] Cartier tells us that these savages were unlike those he had previously seen, but fails to describe them particularly, except as to the mode of wearing their hair. He also tells us that they turned over their boats and used them for shelter, reminding us of the description given in one of the Norse voyages of the same custom practised by the Skraelings (*vide* Voyages of the Northmen to America, Boston, 1877, p. 102). Besides noticing their scalp-lock, Cartier fortunately caught several words used by this, to him, new race, which plainly indicate that these poor savages belonged to the Huron-Iroquois family, whose seat of power was farther up the great river, then unknown, but which he was destined to discover on a future voyage.

boats, which they turn over before lying down on the ground. Under these they eat their flesh almost raw after being a little warmed on coals, and likewise their fish. We went on Magdalen Day with our boats to the place where they were on the shore of the stream, and landed freely among them; for which they showed great joy, and all the men began to sing and dance in two or three bands, making great signs of joy of our coming. But they had caused all the young women to flee into the woods, save two or three who remained, to whom we gave each a comb, and to each a little tin bell, wherefore they showed great joy, thanking the captain by stroking his arms and breast with their hands. And seeing what he had given to those who had remained, they made those return who had fled to the woods, in order to get from him as much as the others, who were quite a score, who gathered about the said captain, while stroking him with their hands, which is their style of endearment; and he gave them each her little tin bell of small value, and immediately they assembled together to chatter and sing a number of songs. We found a great quantity of mackerel that they had caught near the shore with the nets which they have for fishing, which are of hemp that grows in their country where they ordinarily abide; for they only come to the sea in the season of fishing, as far as I have learned and understood. Likewise there grows a large millet like peas, the same as in Brazil, which they eat in place of bread, of which they have full plenty with them, which they name in their language *Kagaige*.[1] They likewise have plums, which

[1] *Kagaige*, or, according to du Petit Val and Hakluyt, *Kapaige*, which

they dry as we do for the winter, which they name *Honesta;* figs, nuts, pears, apples, and other fruits, and beans, which they call *Sahe;* nuts, *Daheya;* figs, *Honnesta;* apples,[1] . . . . If one shows them anything of which they may not have and which they do not know what it is, they shake their heads and say, "Nouda," which is to say that there is not any of it and they know not what it is. Of the things

the latter describes as "Millet as big as Peason." There can be no doubt that this was maize, from the original Haitian name *mahis* or *mahiz*, the *Zea mays* of Linnæus, also known as *blé d'Inde*, which name, Indian corn, we have adopted. The origin of this useful article of food has been much discussed, owing to the wide range of its growth, for the savages of the Amazon, as well as those of the St. Lawrence, cultivated it for food. For a long time it was held to be a native of India, but the opinion of an eminent French botanist that it is of American and not Oriental origin is now generally accepted. *Vide* Géographie botanique raisonnée, A. de Candolle, Paris, 1855, *in loco;* Natural and Moral History of the Indies, Acosta, London, 1880, vol. i, p. 229 *et seq.;* Smith's General History of Virginia, Richmond, 1891, vol. i, p. 126; Chronological History of Plants, Pickering, Boston, 1879, 610-65-68, 741, 859; Two Voyages to New England, Josselyn, Boston, 1865, p. 59.

[1] Cartier has been accused of employing fiction in this account of the fruits used by the savages of Canada, especially those he denominates figs and pears, and this accusation has tended to throw doubt on other statements of his; yet he was a careful observer and truthful in his descriptions of what he beheld. The apples and pears used by these far Northern tribes were the fruit of the thorn, *Cratægus tomentosa, C. punctata;* the beans called *Sahe* the *Phaseolus vulgaris;* the nuts called *Daheya* the butternut and perhaps the acorn, *Juglans cinerea* and *Quercus rubra* and *alba*. It is to be noticed that Cartier has here but one word for plums and figs, viz., *Honesta*, which would seem to indicate that the savages did not distinguish between the fresh and dried fruit as Cartier did. In his vocabulary, however, he gives the word *Absconda* for figs. There can be no doubt that the plums he saw were the common Canada plum (*Prunus Americana*). These plums were dried by the savages for after use. It is curious to note in this connection that over seventy years later Champlain also speaks of a fruit used by the natives of Canada having "an interior which is very good and almost like that of figs," and describes the leaves of the shrub bearing it as being "of the shape of those of the fig tree," without doubt the May-apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*), which, says Gray, "is slightly acid, mawkish, eaten by pigs and boys." *Cf.* Florula Bostoniensis, Bigelow, Boston, 1824, p. 215 *et seq.*

which they have they showed us by signs in what manner it grows, and how they dress it. They never eat a thing wherein there may be a taste of salt. They are to a marvelous degree thieves of all that they can steal.

The 24th day[1] of the said month we caused a cross to be made thirty feet in height, which was made before a number of them on the point at the entrance of the said harbor, on the cross-bar of which we put a shield embossed with three fleurs-de-lis, and above where it was an inscription graven in wood in letters of large form, "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE." And this cross we planted on the said point before them, the which they beheld us make and plant; and after it was raised in the air we all fell on our knees, with hands joined, while adoring it before them, and made them signs, looking up and showing them the sky, that by it was our redemption, for which they showed much admiration, turning and beholding the cross.

We, being returned to our ships, saw the captain clothed with an old black bear's skin, in a boat with three of his sons and his brother, who approached not so close alongside as was customary, and made to us a long harangue, showing us the said cross and making the sign of the cross with two fingers, and then showed us the country all about us, as if he had wished to say that all the country was his, and that we should not plant the said cross without his leave. And after he had ended his said harangue, we showed him a hatchet, feigning to deliver it to him for his skin, to which he harkened, and little by little

[1] Lescarbot has it the 1st of August, which is an evident error.

drew near the side of our ship, thinking to have the said hatchet. And one of our crew, being in our boat, put his hand on his said boat, and suddenly he with two or three of them leaped into their boat, and made them come into our ship, at which they were greatly astonished. And they, having entered, were assured by the captain that they should not have any harm, by showing them great signs of love, and he made them drink and eat and make great cheer, and then showed them by signs that the said cross had been planted for to make a mark and beacon in order to enter into the harbor, and that we would return very soon and would bring them iron wares and other things, and that we wished to carry two of his sons with us, and then they should return again to the said harbor. And we rigged his said two sons with two shirts, and with liveries and red caps, and to each one his chain of copper for the neck, with which they were greatly contented and delivered their old duds to those who were returning. And then we gave to the three that we sent back, to each one his hatchet and two knives, for which they showed great joy; and they, being returned to the land, told the news to the others. About noon of this day six boats returned alongside, in each of which there were five or six men, the which came for to say adieu to the two that we had retained, and brought them some fish and made us signs that they would not throw down the said cross, while making many harangues which we did not understand.[1]

[1] One hundred and thirty-nine years later Shea tells us that the Recollet missionary, Christian Le Clercq, "began his mission on the Bay of Gaspé, where Cartier had planted the cross with the arms of France." "Here," he says, "Le Clercq found a Micmac tribe to whom he gave

The next day, the 25th of the said month, the wind came right and we got under way from the harbor; and being out of the said stream, stood to the east-northeast, because from the land of the said stream the coast was ranged, making a bay in the manner of a half-circle, by which we had views of all the coast from our ships, and in making course we came to fetch the said land, which bore southeast and northwest, the position of which might be by distance from the said stream about twenty leagues.[1]

From Monday, the 27th, at sunset, we ranged the said land, as was said, bearing southeast and northwest until Tuesday, when we saw another cape where the land begins to fall off to the east, and we ranged it fifteen leagues, and then the said land begins to fall off again, but at three leagues from this cape there is sounding of twenty-four fathoms of tangle-weed. The whole of the said lands are level lands and the most bare of woods that we have seen and found, with fair meadows and fields marvelously green. The said cape was named the Cape St. Louis,[2]

the name of Porte-Croix, because he found among them a remarkable reverence for the cross, which they regarded as a talisman in all dangers and perils"; and he adds: "A venerable Indian named Quiondo, whose age was estimated at one hundred and twenty, declared that he had seen the first ship that touched at their country, and that the Indians of Miramichi did not receive the cross and its use from strangers but from their ancestors. Other Micmac bands which had been converted by missionaries did not adopt this custom, as they would have done had the missionaries introduced it." *Vide* First Establishment of the Faith in New France, New York, 1881, p. 11; Relation de la Gaspésie, pp. 172, 199, 266, 277. P. Lafitau states that the custom was unknown in his day, and doubts the truth of the statement. *Vide* Mœurs des Sauvages Américaines, Paris, 1724, tome i, p. 439.

[1] Lescarbot and du Petit Val say sixteen leagues.

[2] "Cap St. Loys." "S. Aluise," Hakluyt, and "S. Louys," du Petit Val. So named in honor of the royal saint, Louis IX of France,

for that the said day was the feast of the said saint, and at forty and nine degrees and a quarter of latitude, and at seventy and three degrees and a half of longitude.

Wednesday, in the morning, we were to the east of the said cape and stood to the northwest for to coast the land until about sundown. It bears toward the south from the said Cape St. Louis as far as to another cape named Cape Montmorency.[1] About fifteen leagues to the said cape the land begins to fall off again to the northwest. We wanted to sound at three leagues or about from the said cape, and could not find bottom there at one hundred and fifty fathoms; we ranged the land about ten leagues up to within the height of fifty degrees of latitude.

Saturday, the first day of August, at sunrising, we had knowledge and sight of other lands which lay to the north and to the northeast of us, as though they were wonderfully high lands and hewn into mountains, between which and us there were low lands

canonized by Boniface VIII, A.D. 1297. The land making a half-circle was that part of the mainland between Capes Gaspé and Crozier. Just where Cap St. Loys was located has been a subject of dispute, but there can be but little doubt that it was on the island of Anticosti, and is now known as East Cape, while the other cape which Cartier saw was South Point. He was all the time seeking a western passage, and, strangely it would seem, passed across the wide opening to the St. Lawrence, which he was seeking, and which on his second voyage he says was not before discovered. It is said by those familiar with the locality that at times this opening appears closed by a mirage of cliffs and low hills produced by the fogs which in summer drift across it. This would account for Cartier's failure to discover it. The distances given are misleading. *Vide* M. de Cazes, who disputes this view of the subject; Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1890, p. 26; *ibid*, 1887, p. 135; Collections of the Maine Historical Society, vol. i, p. 328.

[1] "Cap de Memorancy." So named in honor of the Duke of Montmorency, then held in great honor by the French. This was probably the present Table Head. The soundings in the vicinity are nearly correct.

where there were woods and streams. We ranged the said lands as well one part as the other, passing to the northwest for to see if it was a bay or passage, until the fifth day of the said month. It is from one land to the other about fifteen leagues, and the middle in fifty degrees and a third of latitude.[1] We sailed without ever being able to gain in it more than about twenty-five leagues, owing to the hindrance of strong winds and tides which were there, and were as far as the narrowest part of it, where one sees the land easily from one to the other, and there begins to sheer off. And because we could only fall away before the wind, we went toward land with our said boats for to endeavor to go as far as to a cape of the said south land which was the longest and outermost that we could descry in the sea, whither it was about five leagues.[2] And we, being come to the said land, found that there were rocks and clear bottom, such as we had not found in all the places where we had been toward the south from Cape St. John. And at this hour it was ebb-tide there, which bore to west against the wind, so that in pulling along the said coast one of our boats touched upon a rock, which was instantly listed over in a manner that it was needful for us all to jump out in order to put her afloat. And after we had rowed along the said coast about two hours, the tide began to make, which came from the west against us so impetuously that it was not possible for us to get ahead the length of a stone's throw with thirteen oars, and it behooved us to leave the said boats and a number of our crew to guard

[1] The land to the north was the coast of Labrador.

[2] The northwestern point of Anticosti, now known as North Point.

them and go by land, ten or twelve men, as far as to the said cape, where we found the said land beginning to fall off toward the southwest. We, having seen this, returned with our said boats and came to our ships, which were under sail, hoping always to get ahead, and which had fallen off more than four leagues to the leeward of where we had left them. And we, having arrived at the said ships, assembled all the captains, pilots, masters, and mates in order to have opinion and advice of what it was best to do; and after having one after another say that, considering the great sea winds which had begun, and that the tides were strong, insomuch that they caused us only to fall away, and that it was not possible to get farther in this season, and also that the storms began by this time in the New Land, and that we were yet very far away from home and knew not the dangers that were between them, that it was quite time to return home or to remain thereabout this year,[1] and, moreover, that if a change of wind from the

1 "Veant" in the Relation Originale and apparently in the MS., though there is no well-defined final *t* in the MS., nor does the *v* begin with a down stroke as in other cases upon the same page. Du Petit Val substitutes for this and the word following, "tout le reste de l'année," translating literally from Ramusio, "per tutto il resto dell' anno." Lescarbot follows Du Petit Val, and Hakluyt says, "or els stay there all the yeere." The word may be derived from *videns*, according to Roquefort in Glossaire de la Langue romane; but the Abbé Verreau, citing Duméril's Dictionnaire du Patois normand, thinks the word should be *óuan*, formed from *hoc anno*, and I adopt this reading. Duméril gives this example of the use of *óuan* in Old French:

> Dit la dame; naiez paor
> Je vous mettrai en tel destor
> Où il ne querra *óuan*.

And Roquefort:

> Charlot, foi que doi Sainte Jame,
> Vous avez *óuan* fame prise.

north caught us it might be necessary to remain there — after taking which opinions we fully determined to return home, and because on St. Peter's Day we entered into the said strait, we named it the Strait St. Peter.[1] We have sounded it in several places, and have found in some eightscore fathoms, and in another a hundred, and nearer land seventy-five fathoms, and everywhere clear ground.

And from the said day until Wednesday we had wind at will and blowing strongly, and we ranged the said north land east-southeast and west-northwest, for so it bears, save a bight and cape of low land which trends more to the southeast, which is about twenty-five leagues from the said strait; at which place we saw smokes which the folks of the said land made on the said cape. And forasmuch as the wind drove toward the coast, we did not approach them; and they, seeing that we did not approach them, came with two boats, about twelve men, the which came as freely aboard of our ships as if they had been Frenchmen. They made us understand that they came from the great bay, and that they belonged to Captain Thiennot, who was on the said cape, making us signs that they were returning back into their country toward the place whither we came, and that the ships were under way from the said bay, fully laden with fish. We named the said cape Cape Thiennot.[2]

From this cape the land bears east-southeast and

[1] The strait between Anticosti and Labrador was so named because they entered it on the festival day of St. Peter in Chains. Stephens thinks it was between Anticosti and Gaspé. *Vide* his Jacques Cartier, p. 137.

[2] "Cap Thiennot" or "Tiennot." This would seem to be the present Natashquan Point. Standing from here along the coast to the east-northeast, he came to Newfoundland near "Cap Double."

west-northwest, and are all low lands, very fair, wholly environed with sand, where there is a sea of reefs and shoals for about a league, where the land begins to fall away to the west and to the east-northeast, completely ranged with islands, being at two or three leagues' distance from land, in the region of which there are dangerous shoals for more than four or five leagues' distance from land.

From the said Wednesday until Saturday we had a strong wind from southwest, and we stood to the east-northeast; and the said day we came to fetch the land on the west of New Land between the Granges and Cape Double. And then the wind came to the east-northeast with wrath and fury, and we stood to the north-northwest, and went to fetch the north shore, which is, as before said, wholly ranged with islands; and we being near the said land and islands, the wind turned and came to the south, and we stood into the said bay, and the next day, the 9th of August, we came to Blanc Sablon.[1]

END OF THE DISCOVERIES

And after that, to wit, the fifteenth day of August, the day of the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, we parted together from the said harbor of Blanc Sablon after having mass, and with good weather we came as far as to mid-ocean between New Land and Brittany, at which place we had to remain three continuous days with a furious tempest of head winds,

[1] "Blanc Sablon." Cartier, following up the coast of Newfoundland, came to this place, which he left two months before, having failed to find the western passage which he had so diligently sought, and thence retracing his course through the Strait of Belle Isle made his way home.

the which, with the help of God, we suffered and endured; and after that we had weather at will, so that we arrived at the harbor of St. Malo, from which we had departed, the fifth day of September in the said year.

SECOND VOYAGE

1535-6

SECOND VOYAGE

Made by the Command & Will
of the Most Christian King,
Francis first of this name,
For the
Accomplishment of the Discovery
of
The Western Lands,
Being under the climate & parallels of the Land & Realm of the said Lord & by whom the discovery was formerly begun.

This Voyage
made by
Jacques Cartier,
native of Saint Malo, de l'Isle
in Brittany,
Pilot of the said Lord,
in the year
One thousand five hundred thirty-six.

TO THE
MOST CHRISTIAN KING

CONSIDERING, O my most redoubtable prince, the great wealth & gifts of grace which it has pleased God, the Creator, to bestow upon his creatures, and, among others, to seat and establish the sun, which is the light & enlightenment of them all, & without which nothing could fructify nor generate in region & place where it has its motion & opposite declination & not like the other planets. By which motion & declination all creatures existing upon the earth, in whatever region & place they may be, have in, or can have in, the solar year, which is 365 days and six hours, as much as ocular sight of one another, not that it may be as cold & hot in some places as in others through its rays & reflections, nor the division of the days & nights of the like uniformity: But it is sufficient that it is of such sort & such condition that all the earth is or can be inhabited in any zone, climate, or latitude that may be: And those with the waters, trees, herbs, & all other creatures of whatever kind or specie they may be, by the influence of this sun to bear fruit & generate according to their natures, for the life & nourishment of human creatures. And if any may wish to say contrary to the above by alleging the opinion of the wise philosophers of past times, who have written & made a division of the earth into five zones of which they have declared &

affirmed three to be uninhabitable: That is to say the torrid zone, which is between the two tropics or solstices by reason of the great heat & reflection of the sun which passes through the zenith of the said zone, and the two zones arctic & antarctic, by reason of the great cold which is in them, because of the little efflux that they have from the said sun & other reasons: I confess that they have written of the method & firmly believe that they think it so, & that they may find it by some natural reasons in the ground they assume & from them wholly content themselves, without adventuring or putting their persons into the perils whereby they might be a little in the way of investigating the experience of their opinion. But I will say for my reply that the prince of these philosophers has left among his writings a brief word of great importance which declares that Experientia est rerum magistra; by the light of which I have dared to undertake to address to the view of your royal majesty this discourse in the manner of a prologue to this my little work in following your royal command. The simple sailors, at present not having had so much fear of putting themselves to the adventure of these perils & dangers which they have had & desiring to do you most humble service to the increase of the very holy christian faith, have known the contrary of the said opinions of the philosophers by true experience.

I have alleged the foregoing because I observe the sun, which each day rises in the east & sets in the west, making the tour & circuit of the earth, giving light & warmth to all the world in twenty-four hours, which is a natural day, without any inter-

ruption of its motion & natural course. With the example of which I think, with my simple understanding & without other reason to declare it, that it may please God, by his divine bounty, that all human creatures, living & dwelling upon the globe of the earth, as they have sight & knowledge of this sun, may have had & have for the time to come knowledge & belief in our most holy faith ; because at first this our holy faith was sowed & planted in the holy land, which is in Asia to the east of our Europe, & since in the progress of time brought & divulged even to us, & finally to the west of our said Europe, after the example of the said sun bearing its warmth & light from the east into the west as already said. And we have likewise also seen our most holy faith at several times, by occasion of wicked heretics & false lawmakers, eclipsed in some places & then suddenly shine forth & show its clearness more plainly than before. And now at present we again see how the wicked lutherans from day to day strive to obscure it, &, finally, to totally extinguish it, if God & the truth suffer it, or may not give order through mortal justice, such as is seen done each day in your country & realm by the good order & police that you have established therein. In like manner is also seen how, contrary to these children of Satan, the christian princes & true pillars of the Church Catholic strive to augment & increase it, even as the catholic King of Spain has done in the lands which by his command have been discovered to the west of his country & realms, the which were formerly to us unknown, strangers & beyond our faith ; as New Spain, Lisabelle, terra firma, & other islands where

have been found innumerable people, who have been baptised & subdued to our most holy faith.

And now in the present voyage made by your royal command in the discovery of Western lands, being under the climate & parallel of your country & realm, not before known to you nor to us, you can behold & understand the goodness & fertility of it, the innumerable quantity of people dwelling there, the kindness & gentleness of them: And likewise the fruitfulness of the great river which flows & waters the midst of these your lands, which is the greatest without comparison that is known to have ever been seen; which things give to those who have seen them sure hope of the future increase of our said most holy faith & of your seigniories & most christian name, as it may please you to see by this present little book: In which are fully contained all the things worthy of remembrance, which we have seen & which have happened to us, as well in making the said voyage as being & sojourning in your said country & lands, the routes, dangers, & bearing of the said lands.

SECOND VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER

A.D. 1535-6

From Manuscript No. 5589, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

SUNDAY, the day and feast of Pentecost, the sixteenth day of May, in the said year one thousand five hundred thirty-five, by the commandment of the captain and good will of all, each confessed himself, and we all received together our Creator in the cathedral church of St. Malo, after having received which we were presented in the choir of the said church before the reverend father in God, my Lord of St. Malo, who, in his episcopal station, gave us his benediction.[1]

And the Friday following, the nineteenth day of May, there came a good and convenient wind, and we got under way with the said three ships: to wit, the *Grande Hermine*, of the burden of about one hundred and twenty-six tons, wherein was the said cap-

[1] The Abbé Ferland and Stephens both tell us that this was Mgr. Denis Briconnet; but this venerable prelate, some months before Cartier's departure, had retired to Cormery in Touraine, where he died December 18th, 1535, having occupied the episcopal seat of St. Malo for twenty-two years. His nephew, François Bohier, who had been the coadjutor of his uncle, succeeded him January 5th, 1534, and was therefore the bishop who officiated at the final service in which the adventurers and their friends participated. Bishop Bohier was the grandson of Cardinal Briconnet, who belonged to a noble family of Auvergne. He died in Paris in 1569. *Vide* Répertoire Général de Bio Biograph Bretonne, Kerviler, Rennes, 1890, *in loco*.

tain-general, and for master Thomas Fromont, Claude du Pont Briand,[1] son of the Lord of Montreul and cup-bearer of Monseigneur the Dauphin, Charles de la Pommeraye, and other gentlemen; in the second ship, named the *Petite Hermine*,[2] of the burden of about sixty tons, was Marc Jalobert,[3] captain under the said Cartier, and Master Guillaume le Marie; and in the third and smaller ship, named the *Hemerillon*,[4] of the burden of about forty tons, was the captain of it, Guillaume le Breton, and Master Jacques Maingart.[5] And we navigated with good weather until the twenty-sixth day of the said month of May, when the weather turned about in rage and fury, which we endured with contrary winds and thick weather as much as ships which ever passed the said sea could have without amendment; so that the twenty-fifth day of June we all three lost each other through the said foul weather and obscurity, without get-

[1] The names of Claude du Pont Briand, Jehan Gonion, and Jehan Poullet do not appear on the roll of Cartier's companions preserved in the archives of St. Malo. In the manuscript we have two other names, that of Cartier's servant, Charles Guyot, and Philippe Rougemont, who died of scurvy. The St. Malo roll preserves the names of seventy-four, and adding the above five names, we have seventy-nine out of the one hundred and ten of which the company is said to have been composed. This number includes Cartier, but not the two savages who accompanied him. If the number who accompanied him is correctly stated, thirty-one names are lost.

[2] The *Little Hermine*, i.e., the *Little Weasel*, was an old vessel and bore previous to this voyage the name of *Courlieu*, or, in English, *Curlew*.

[3] Marc Jalobert was brother-in-law to Cartier, having married his wife's sister, Alizon des Granches.

[4] "Hemerillon." So in the manuscript, but more properly *Emerillon;* in English, *Merlin;* a small hawk known familiarly as the sparrow-hawk.

[5] Hakluyt gives the name "M. James Maringare." The name of Jehan Poullet, which appears in the Bref Récit, is wanting in all the three manuscripts, and appears to have been interpolated by the editor in several places. On the roll of Cartier's men the name appears as Maingar.

ting news from one another until at the New Land; there, where we had appointed, we found all together.

And after we had lost each other, we with the general's ship had been at sea with wholly contrary winds until the seventh day of the month of July, when we arrived at the said New Land and made land at the Isle of Birds, which is fourteen leagues from the mainland, which island is so very full of birds that all the ships of France could easily load there, without it being perceived that any had been taken from them; and there we took two boat-loads of them for part of our victuals. This island is by the elevation of the pole in forty-nine degrees forty minutes. And the 8th of the said month we got under way from the said island, and with good weather came to the harbor of Blanc Sablon, being in Castle Bay, the fifteenth day of the said month, which is the place where we purposed to repair, at which place we were awaiting our companions until the 26th of the said month, on which day they arrived both together. And there we fitted out and took water, wood, and other necessary things, and got under way and made sail to pass out the twenty-ninth day of the said month at the dawn of day, and stood along the north coast, bearing east-northeast and west-southwest, till about eight o'clock in the evening,[1] when we struck sail off two islands which stood farther out than the others, which we named the Isles St. William, the which are about twenty leagues beyond the harbor of Brest. The whole of the said coast from the Castles as far as

[1] Hakluyt says "two hours after sunset." The two islands called "Sainct Guillaume" were probably Treble Hill and Great Mecattina or Murr Island.

here bears east-northeast and west-southwest, ranged with numerous islands and lands all hacked and stony, without any soil or woods, save in some valleys.

The next day prior to the last day of the said month we made her go west in order to have knowledge of other islands which lay from us about twelve leagues and a half, between which islands a berth is made toward the north, all with islands and great bays, appearing to have in it many good harbors, and we named them the Isles St. Martha;[1] beyond which about a league and a half in the sea there is a very dangerous shoal, where there are four or five points, which lie across the said bays in the route from east and west of the said Isles St. William and other islands which lie to the west-southwest of the Isles St. Martha about seven leagues, which islands we went to fetch the said day, about one hour after midday. And from the said day to the coming round of the clock, we made her go about fifteen leagues clear across from a cape of low islands, which we named the Isles St. Germain,[1] to the south of which cape about three leagues there is another very dangerous shoal. And likewise between the said Cape St. Germain and St. Martha there is a bank about two leagues off from the said islands, upon which there are only four fathoms. And for the danger of the said coast we struck sail, and did not stand onward the said night.

The next day, the last day of July, we made her go along the said coast, which bears east and west,

[1] "Saincte Marthe." Probably Little Mecattina Island and the small peninsula opposite, which would look like an island from the seas. The berth to the north is a little bay formed by the islands and peninsula, and the other islands and dangerous shoals about seven leagues beyond St.

a quarter southeast, which is all ranged with islands and shoals, and a very dangerous coast, the which continues from the said cape of the Isles St. Germain as far as to the end of the islands, about seventeen leagues and a half.[1] And at the end of the said islands there is a very fair lowland, full of great and tall trees, and the coast is wholly ranged with sands without having there any appearance of a harbor, as far as to Cape Thiennot, which falls off to the northwest, which is about seven leagues from the said islands, which cape we knew from the preceding voyage. And therefore we made her go all night to the west-northwest, until day, when the wind came contrary and we had to seek a harbor where we might put our ships, which is a good little harbor beyond the said Cape Thiennot about seven leagues and a half, and is between four islands going out into the sea. We named it the harbor St. Nicholas,[2] and on the nearest island planted a great cross of wood for a mark. And you must bring the said cross to the northeast, then go to fetch it and leave it to starboard, and you shall find a depth of six fathoms, to lay within the said harbor toward four fathoms, and

Martha were St. Mary's Island and Boat Island, and the exposed rocks and shoals thereabouts. We may identify the "cape of low islands" which he named St. Germain with the Cape Whittle Islands.

[1] The distance, seventeen and a half leagues from the Isles St. Germain, quite nearly corresponds with the distance between Cape Whittle and Kegashka Bay, the end of the rough coast. Beyond this extends the "fair lowland" seen by Cartier. This cape is still denominated on some charts Cape Theirnot. It is unmistakably Natashquan Point (*antea*, note 2, p. 118). Stephens and others suppose Cartier's Thiennot to be Mont Joli, but this view cannot be reconciled with his account, which describes it as a cape of low land, while Mont Joli, near by, is about a hundred feet in height.

[2] "Sainct Nicholas." The harbor "between four islands going out into the sea," which he says was seven and a half leagues beyond Thiennot, is Mushkoniatawee Bay. Cartier fairly well describes it.

it is needful to give heed to two shoals which lie on both sides a half-league out. All this said coast is very dangerous and full of shoals; notwithstanding that it seems to have in it several harbors, there are only shoals and flats. We were in the said harbor from the said day until Sunday, the eighth day of August,[1] on which day we got under way and went to fetch the land to the south of Cape Rabast,[2] which is distant from the said harbor about twenty leagues, bearing north-northeast and south-southwest. And the next day the wind became contrary, and because we could not find any harbors on the said coast, we stood toward the north beyond the former harbor for about ten leagues, where we found a very fair and large bay full of islands and good entrances, and shelter from all the winds that can blow. And for knowledge of this bay there is a great island like a headland, which extends out farther than the others, and on the land about two leagues there is a mountain formed like a stack of grain. We named the said bay the Bay St. Lawrence.[3]

The thirteenth day of the said month we departed from the said Bay St. Lawrence, and stood west, and went to fetch a headland toward the south which bears about a quarter southwest of the said St. Lawrence harbor near twenty-five leagues.[4] And by the two savages whom we had taken the first voyage it

[1] The date in the manuscript is correct, as Sunday fell on the 8th. The Bref Récit has it VII—evidently a mistake in printing.

[2] "Cap de Rabast." The present Cow Point on Anticosti.

[3] "Sainct Laurens." This was the present Pillage Bay, and the mountain "like a stack of grain" is now known as Mount St. Genevieve. The Bref Récit says that Cartier departed from this place the 12th.

[4] This headland was the North Cape of Anticosti. The high lands bearing east-northeast and south-southwest were Cape Magdalen and the

was told us that this was part of the land to the south, and that this was an island, and that by the south of it was the way to go to Honguedo, where we had taken them the first voyage to Canada;[1] and that at two days' journey from the said cape and island began the kingdom of Saguenay, on the land toward the north stretching toward the said Canada. Off the said cape about three leagues there is a depth of a hundred fathoms or more, and it is not remembered that so many whales have ever been seen as we saw that day off the said cape.

The day following, Our Lady Day of August,[2]

mountainous land in the vicinity. He sailed along what is now the Quebec coast for some distance, when the wind changed to the west, and, steering north, he fetched the high lands on the north side of the river near Cape des Monts.

[1] Canada. The origin of this Indian place-name has been the subject of much curious speculation. Charlevoix, supposing the Spaniards to have anticipated Cartier, says "that seeing no signs of any mines there, they had several times repeated the words *Aca nada*, nothing there. This the Indians subsequently repeated to the French, leading them to suppose Canada to be the name of the country." Gaffarel says that the Portuguese ascending the St. Lawrence first gave it the name, from *canel*, "a straight street, or one bordered by a wall or traced in a desert or unknown place." It is also claimed that Rabelais used it before Cartier in his Les faits et dicts du géant Gargantua et de son fils Pantagruel, a work first published at Lyons in 1533. This work was, however, not finished until after Cartier's return from Canada, and it is known that Rabelais knew of his discoveries. It is also said to have been derived from the Spanish Cabo de Nada (Cape Nothing); from the Montagnais Hannata (Stranger); while Josselyn says that it was "so called from Monsieur Cane, who had a patent of territory there." Caën, however, to whom Josselyn refers, was unborn when Cartier visited Canada. All these derivations are baseless. There can be no doubt that the word Canada is derived from *cannata*, or *kannata*, which in Iroquois signifies a collection of dwellings, in other words a settlement, and it is probable that when the Indians were asked by the French the name of their country, they replied, pointing to their dwellings, "Cannata," which their interrogators applied in a broader sense than was intended.

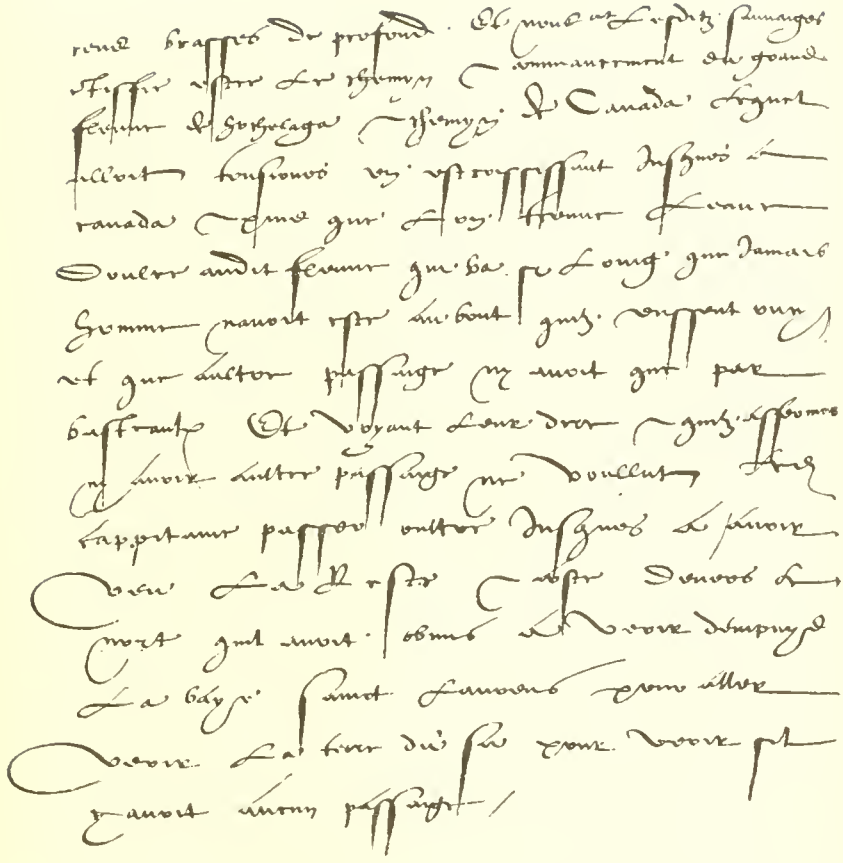
[2] "Jour nostredame," i.e., the day of the Assumption of the Virgin. This island is now known as Anticosti, a corruption of the Indian name, variously written by old authors Natiscotec, Naticcousti, Natashkouch, etc.,

the 15th of the said month, we passed the strait the night before, and the next day we had knowledge of lands which lay to the south of us, which is a land with marvelous high mountains, from which aforesaid cape of the said island, which we have named the Isle of the Assumption, and a cape of the said high lands bearing east-northeast and west-southwest, there is between them twenty-five leagues, and one sees the lands to the north still higher than those to the south for more than thirty leagues. We ranged the said south lands from the said day till Tuesday noon, when the wind came west, and we headed to the north for to go to fetch the said high lands that we saw; and we being there found the said lands level and low toward the sea, and the mountains toward the north above the said low lands, these lands bearing east and west, a quarter southwest. And by the savages that we had we were told that this was the beginning of the Saguenay, and inhabited land, and that from it came the red copper which they called *caignetdaze*.[1] There is between the lands of the south and those of the north about thirty leagues and more than two hundred fathoms of depth, and this have the savages certified to us to be the way and beginning of the great river[2] and way to Canada, which went

the latter, says Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, tome i, p. 22), being the name "maintenant donné par les Montagnais, signifie 'lieu ou l'on va chercher l'ours.'" Jean Alphonse denominates it Isle de l'Ascension, perhaps inadvertently. *Cf.* The Voyages of the English Nation, Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. ii, p. 158; Chronicles of the St. Lawrence, Le Moine, p. 100; Histoire du Nouveau Monde, Leyde, 1640, p. 42.

[1] *Caignetdaze*, or, according to Lescarbot, *caquetdazé*, a word of Huron-Iroquois origin. The savages probably meant to indicate to Cartier that the red copper he so much prized came from the Lake Superior region.

[2] "Silenne de Hochelaga" in the Bref Récit. Ramusio says Fiume, and Lescarbot Fleuve. This word has puzzled students and has been sup-



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always narrowing clear to Canada; and that one found the water fresh in the said river, which goes so far that never man might have been up to the end that they had heard, and that other passage there was not save by boats. And observing their talk, and that they affirmed there was no other passage, the said captain did not wish to pass beyond till he had seen the rest and the coast toward the north, which he had omitted to see from the Bay St. Lawrence in order to go to see the land to the south to find out if it had any passage.

HOW OUR CAPTAIN CAUSED THE SHIPS TO RETURN BACK, IN ORDER TO GAIN A KNOWLEDGE OF THE BAY ST. LAWRENCE TO SEE IF THERE WAS ANY PASSAGE TOWARD THE NORTH

WEDNESDAY, the eighteenth day of August, the said captain caused his ships to turn back[1] and put the prow on the other tack. And we ranged the said north coast, which bears northeast and southwest, making a half-circle, which is a very high land, but not so much so as that of the south; and we bore up the Thursday following toward seven very high isl-

posed to be in the MSS. It is not, however, in this MS., and I am informed by a correspondent who has examined all the MSS. that it is not in either of them. He suggests that it was added by the ancient editor and is a corruption of "great isles of Hochelaga," written perhaps "grats illeies de Hochelaga."

[1] Cartier had explored the northern shore of Anticosti, and, contrary to what we might expect, instead of being elated at his discovery of the great river, was so disappointed to learn from his savage guides that it ended in fresh water that he neglected to follow up his discovery, and determined to cross over and explore the Labrador shore, in the hope of finding in that direction the much-desired passage to China. This was doubtless his sole reason for a retrograde movement.

ands, the which we named the Round Islands,[1] which are about forty leagues from the south lands and stand out into the sea three or four leagues, across from which there is a beginning of low lands, full of goodly trees, which lands we ranged Friday with our boats, off which there are several banks of sand for more than two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, the which are uncovered at low water, and at the end of these low lands, which comprise about ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water, running into the sea, so that for more than a league from the land it was as fresh as spring water.[2] We entered into the said river with our boats, and found at the entrance of it only a fathom and a half. There are in the said river many fish, which have the shape of horses, which go to the land by night, and by day to the sea, as it was told us by our two men, and of these said fish we saw a great number in the said river.[3]

The next day, the twenty-first day of the said month, in the morning at daybreak, we made sail and stood along the said coast,[4] so far that we got a knowledge of the rest of the said north coast, which we had not seen, and of the Isle of the Assumption, which we went for on departing from the said land; and when we were certain that the said coast was ranged, and that there was not any passage, we returned to our ships, which were at the said seven islands, where there are good roadsteads with eighteen

[1] "Isles Rondes." The present Seven Islands.

[2] This must have been the Trout River, which is fresh as it runs into the sea as described. It cannot be the Moisie, as some authorities have supposed, as this is a tidal river and salt for some distance from its mouth.

[3] The walrus or morse (*Trichechus rosmarus*). *Vide* note 3, p. 94, *antea*.

[4] "Feismes voylle" and "feismes porter" in the manuscript.

and twenty fathoms and sand, at which place we had been, without power to go out nor to make sail because of fogs and contrary winds which prevailed, up to the twenty-fourth day of the said month, when we set sail. And we were making way by sea until the 29th of the said month, when we arrived at a harbor on the south coast, which is about eighty leagues from the said seven islands, and is opposite three flat islands which are in the midst of the river.[1] And about midway from the said islands and the said harbor, toward the north, there is a very great stream, which is between high and low lands, which makes numerous banks in the sea for more than three leagues, which is a very dangerous region and soundings at two fathoms and less, and at the crest of these banks you shall find twenty-five and thirty fathoms side by side. All this north coast bears north-northeast and south-southwest.

The harbor aforesaid where we lay, which is on the south coast, is a tide-harbor and of little worth. We named them the Isles St. John,[2] because we entered therein the day of the decapitation of the said saint. And, before arriving at the said harbor, there is an island to the east of it about five leagues, where there is not any passage between the land and it but by boats.[3] The said harbor of the Isles St. John dries up at all tides, and the water flows therein some two

[1] This harbor on the south coast opposite three flat islands is the Bic, from the French *bicoque*—paltry or mean.

[2] "Sainct Jehan," which Laverdière identifies as the Bic Islands (*cf.* Relations des Jésuites, p. 19, and Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, Quebec, 1870, p. 68). The harbor opposite is Old Bic Harbor. The best anchorage is in a little cove on the south side of Bicquette Island, and is doubtless the one mentioned here.

[3] This island is Barnaby Island.

fathoms. The best place to put ships is toward the south of a little islet which is in the midst of the said harbor alongside the said islet.

We got under way from the said harbor the first day of September for to go toward Canada, and about fifteen leagues from the said harbor to the west-southwest there are three islands in the midst of the said river, across from which there is a river, very deep and swift, which is the river and way to the kingdom and land of the Saguenay, as has been told us by our two men of the country of Canada. And this river is between high mountains of naked rock,[1] without having thereon but little earth, and notwithstanding this a great number of trees and of many sorts grow there, which grow on the said bare rocks as upon good earth, so that we have seen a tree there sufficient to mast a ship of thirty tons, as green as may be possible to see, the which was upon a rock without having thereon any taste of earth. And at the entrance of this river we found four boats from Canada which had come there to make fishery of sea-wolves and other fish. And we being laid to in the said river, two of the said boats came toward our ships, which came in fear in such sort that one of them put back and the other came so near that he could hear one of our savages, who told his name and made his acquaintance and caused them to come aboard with confidence.[2]

The next day, the second day of the said Septem-

[1] This is the Saguenay. The name is from the Montagnais *sakenip* (springing forth), and was suggested by the two rocky portals from which is derived the present name of the port, Tadoussac. The three small islands and shoals to the south are accurately described.

[2] Cartier's Indians were taken from Gaspé, it will be remembered, and

ber, we set out again from the said river for to make our way toward Canada, and found the tide very swift and dangerous, because toward the south of the said river there are two islands, all about which for more than three leagues there are only two or three fathoms, strewn with great rocks like tuns and pipes, and deceptive tides between the said islands, so that we thought to lose our pinnace there, save for the help of our boats, and at the edge of the said flats there is a depth of thirty fathoms or more. Beyond the said river of the Saguenay and the said islands, about five leagues toward the southwest, there is another island[1] toward the north, on which there are very high lands, off which we thought to cast anchor to await the ebb, and at a bow-shot from land we could not find the bottom at a hundred and twenty fathoms,[2] so that we were constrained to return toward the said island, where we lay with thirty-five fathoms and good bottom.[3]

The next day in the morning we made sail and got under way to pass out, and had sight of a sort of fish of which it is not in the memory of man to have seen or heard. The said fish are as big as porpoises without having any relationship, and are pretty

have been supposed by some writers to have been Micmacs. The fact that they were recognized and understood by the Indians of the Saguenay is strong proof that they were Huron-Iroquois.

[1] This is Hare Island. Ships going up the St. Lawrence anchor to the south of Hare Island when the tide and wind are against them.

[2] Champlain speaks of the "incredible depth" of the Saguenay. At one point, according to marine charts, there is a sounding of one hundred and forty-six fathoms. The width of a considerable portion of the river is nearly three miles, but near its mouth it narrows to less than two hundred and fifty rods, causing it to terminate in an impetuous torrent.

[3] "Ou posasmes à trente cinq brasses et beau fondz" in the manuscript. In the Bref Récit, "passames," which is a misreading.

well made in body, with a head of the style of a greyhound, as white as snow, without having any spot; and in the said river there is a very great number of them that live in the sea and the fresh water. The folks of the country call them *adhothuys*,[1] and have told us that they are very good to eat, and have affirmed to us that there are none of them in all the said river nor country but in this place.

The sixth day of the said month, with good wind, we made her go up the said river about fifteen leagues, and came to lay at an island, which is alongside the north coast, which makes a little bay and land berth, at the which there is an incalculable number of great turtles, which are in the environs of this island.[2] Likewise a large fishery of adhothuys, heretofore described, is made by those of the country in the environs of the said island. There is as great a current in the vicinity of the said island from flood and ebb as before Bordeaux. This island comprises about three leagues of length and two of breadth, and has a very good and rich soil full of great and fair trees of many sorts, and, among others, there are many wild filberts which we found thickly loaded with nuts as large and of better taste than ours, but a little harder. And therefore we named it the Isle of Filberts.[3]

[1] *Adhothuys.* The white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*). It resembles the narwhal, and, being without a dorsal fin and white, is a striking object as it disports itself upon the surface of the icy waters which are its favorite home. Cartier remarked its peculiar head, but errs in saying that it has no kinship with the porpoise. It attains a length of about twelve feet and is still found in the vicinity.

[2] This was the snapping-turtle (*Chelonura serpentina*).

[3] "L'ysle es Couldres." Hakluyt says "Iland of Filberds"; but it might be more accurate to say Island of Hazelnuts, for it was so named be-

The seventh day of the said month, the day of Our Lady,[1] after having heard the mass, we departed from the said island for to go up the said river, and we came to fourteen islands which are distant from the said Isle of Filberts from seven to eight leagues, which is the beginning of the land and province of Canada, of which there is a large one which has about ten leagues of length and five of breadth,[2] in which there are people dwelling who make great fishing of all the fish which are in the said river, according to their seasons, of which mention will hereafter be made. We, being at anchor between this great island[3] and the north shore, landed and carried the two savages whom we had taken the preceding voyage.

cause of the abundance of these nuts (*Corylus rostrata*) which were found growing there. The harbor in which Cartier dropped anchor for the night lies on the north side of the island, and has been called Havre de Jacques Cartier. It was considerably enlarged and changed in appearance by an earthquake in 1663. The most elaborate account of the event is given by Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix des Lettres Historiques, pp. 299–399.

[1] The day of Our Lady. This festival falls upon the 8th of September, according to the present Roman calendar, but the Abbé Faillon informs us that it was not always celebrated upon the 8th, but in Cartier's time on the 7th. He says: "On la trouve marquée au 7 de ce mois dans plusieurs anciens martyrologes auxquels on se conformait encore en Bretagne au temps de Jacques Cartier." In spite of the positive assertion of so excellent an authority, a careful examination of ancient martyrologies tends to disprove its correctness; hence it is reasonable to suppose that Cartier made an error in the date. *Cf.* Proc. and Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, Montreal, 1890, p. 150, and Hist. de la Col. Française en Canada, Faillon, tome i, p. 13.

[2] The length of the island is overstated by at least three leagues. Of course Cartier could only estimate its size.

[3] The island upon which Cartier landed was the present Isle of Orléans. It is twenty miles in length, six miles in greatest breadth, and has an area of about sixty-nine square miles. It was first named by Cartier, as we shall see, "L'ysle de Bacchus," but afterward, to honor the Duke of Orléans, he changed the name to the one it now bears. It has borne various other names, as Minigo, Bacallaos, Isle des Sorciers, St. Laurent, and Isle de Sainte Marie.

And we found a number of the people of the country, who began to flee and would not approach until our said two men began to speak and to tell them that they were Taignoagny[1] and Dom Agaya, and when they were known of them they began to display great joy, dancing and practising many ceremonies; and part of the chief of them came to our boats to talk, who brought us store of eels and other fish, with two or three loads of great millet, which is the bread on which they live in the said land, and many big melons.[2] And this day a number of boats of the said country came to our ships loaded with people, both men and women, to see and make our said two men welcome, the which were extremely well received by our captain, who feasted them with what he could, and, to make their acquaintance, gave them some little presents of small value, with which they were much pleased.

The next day the lord of Canada, so called, Donnacona by name, and whom for lord they entitle Agohanna,[3] came with twelve boats, accompanied by a number of men, before our ships. Then he made ten retire to the rear, and came with only two alongside of the said ships, accompanied by sixteen men. And the said Agohanna began over against the smallest of our three ships to make a discourse and ora-

[1] Lescarbot spells the name Taiguragni.

[2] The great melons called by Champlain *citrouilles* were pumpkins (*Cucurbita maxima*). Other early writers, singularly enough, called them melons. The "great millet" was, of course, maize.

[3] "Agohanna." According to Ramusio, Agonna; the Bref Récit, Agouhanna; and Lescarbot, Agona. These people were Huron-Iroquois, and the word is equivalent to *sagamo* in Algonkin dialects. *Vide* Proc. Roy. Soc. Canada, vol. ix, p. 85; *ibid*, vol. x, p. 41; and Bibliog. Algon. Lang., Pilling, pp. 6–9.

tion after their fashion, working his body and limbs in a wonderful manner, which is a ceremony of joy and assurance. And when they had arrived at the general's ship, where were the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya his companion, the said lord spoke to them, and they to him, and began to recount to him what they had seen in France, and the good treatment that had been accorded them, at which the said lord was very joyous, and prayed our captain to reach him his arms for to kiss and coll them, which is their manner of making welcome in the said land. And then the said captain entered into the said boat of the said Agohanna, and ordered bread and wine to be brought for to make the said lord and his band drink and eat, which was done; at which they were very greatly contented, and, for the time, there was no other present made to the said lord, awaiting place and time. After which things were thus done, they parted from one another, and took leave, and the said Agohanna withdrew to his boats to retire and go to his place. And the said captain likewise caused our boats to be made ready to pass beyond, and to go up the said river with the flood for to seek a harbor and place of safety to put his vessels; and we made up the said river about ten leagues, coasting the said island. And at the end of it we found a sound of exceeding good and pleasant water, at which place there is a little stream and harbor, with a bar flooding from two to three fathoms, where we found a place favorable to us for to put our said ships in safety. We named the said place St. Croix,[1] be-

[1] "Saincte Croix." Charlevoix says that this is the river Jacques Cartier, and Le Clercq coincides with this view. Lescarbot also, in his map,

cause we arrived there the said day. Near this place there is a people of whom the said Donnacona is lord, and there is his dwelling-place, which is called Stadaconé,[1] which is as good land as it may be possible to behold, and very fruitful, full of exceeding fair trees of the nature and kinds of France, as oaks, elms, ashes, nuts, plum-trees, maples, cedars, vines,[2] white thorns, which bear fruit as big as damson plums, and other trees, under which grows as good hemp[3] as that of France, which comes without sowing or labor. After having visited the said place and found it to be convenient, the said captain and the others

places the St. Croix some distance above Quebec. These authors, however, were in error, as there can be no doubt that Cartier's St. Croix was the St. Charles, which name it derived from the founder of the first mission of the Recollets in New France, Charles des Boües, Grand Vicar of Pontoise. The Indian name was Cabir Coubut, to designate its sinuosity. Champlain, who saw the evidences of Cartier's occupation, confirms this, and is sustained by Ferland, Sagard, and de la Potherie. *Vide* Hist. et Descript. Gen. de la Nouvelle France, Charlevoix, Paris, 1744, tome i, p. 18; Hist. de la Amérique, de la Potherie, Paris, 1722, tome i, p. 114; First Estab. Faith in New France, Le Clercq, New York, 1881, vol. i, p. 54; Cours d'Histoire, Ferland, Quebec, 1882, tome i, p. 26; Hist. de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot, Paris, 1866, tome i, map opposite p. 208; Hist. du Canada, Sagard, Paris, 1866, tome iii, p. 788.

[1] "Stadaconé." This is "wing" in the Huron-Iroquois, so called because of the formation of the point between the St. Lawrence and St. Charles, upon which it was situated. Just what portion of the modern Quebec comprised its site cannot be precisely determined, but Ferland supposes it to have been situated "Dans l'espace compris entre la rue de la Fabrique et le coteau de Sainte-Genevieve pres de la cote d'Abraham," which, without doubt, is approximately correct. *Vide* Cours d'Histoire, Ferland, Quebec, 1882, tome i, p. 27.

[2] The names given by Cartier are as follows: "chesnes" (the *Quercus rubra* and *alba*); "ormes" (the *Ulmus Americana*); "fresnes" (the *Fraxinus Americana*); "noyers" (probably *Juglans cinerea*, *squamos*, and *glabra*); "yfz" the (*Abies Canadensis*); "cèdres" (the *Thuya Occidentalis*); "aubespines," the thorn-apple (*Cratægus tomentosa*).

[3] The hemp or "chanure" of Cartier is the Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), a perennial herb used by the Indians of North America for making cordage.

withdrew into the boats for to return to the ships. And as we were going out of the said river we found before us one of the lords of the said people of Stadaconé, accompanied by a number of folks, men, women and children as well, the which lord began to make a discourse in the style and custom of the country, which is of joy and confidence, and the women danced and sang without ceasing, being up to their knees in the water. Our captain, seeing their love and good will, caused the boat to approach where he was, and gave them some knives and little paternosters of glass, whereat they showed a marvelous joy, so that we, having departed from among them the distance of a league, or thereabouts, heard them sing, dance, and make glad of our coming.[1]

HOW OUR CAPTAIN RETURNED TO THE SHIPS, AND WENT TO SEE THE ISLAND, THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF IT, AND HOW HE CAUSED THE SAID SHIPS TO BE BROUGHT TO THE RIVER ST. CROIX

After we had arrived at the said ships with our boats and returned to the river St. Croix, the captain gave order to prepare the said boats for to go ashore at the said island, to see the trees, which

[1] It has been reasoned that the two men Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, whom Cartier had captured at Gaspé on his former voyage, could not have been known to the Indians of the St. Lawrence, as the narrative indicates, and that even these names were not "proper to these individuals prior to their meeting with Jacques Cartier at Gaspé, but rather had reference to their subsequent adventures, and were intended to indicate a marvelous event in their lives, such for instance as one who had been to a foreign land inhabited by white people, from whence he had returned in safety"; but this view is wholly theoretical. If Taignoagny here speaks the truth, he belonged to Donnacona's people, and that they were in the habit of visiting Gaspé for fishing is shown by Donnacona's relation of the massacre of two hundred of his tribe by the Toudamans while on their way there.

seemed very goodly to behold, and the nature of the soil of this island. This was done, and we, being at the said island, found it full of most goodly trees, such as oaks, elms, pines, cedars, and other woods like our own, and likewise we found therein a store of vines, such as we had never before seen in all the earth, and therefore we named it the Isle of Bacchus. This island holds in length about twelve leagues,[1] and is a very goodly land and level, full of woods, without having any tillage, except that there are a few little houses where they carry on fishing, as mention is heretofore made.

The next day we departed with our said ships for to bring them to the said place of St. Croix, and there we arrived the next day, the 14th of the said month, and the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Dom Agaya came before us with twenty-five boats loaded with folks, who came from the same place from whence we had departed, and went toward the said Stadaconé, where their dwelling is, and all came to our ships making many signs of joy, save the two men that we had brought: to wit, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, who were wholly changed of purpose and resolution, and would not enter into our said ships, notwithstanding that they were many times urged to it, from which we had some distrust of them. The captain asked them if they would go with him to Hochelaga as they had promised him, and they responded yes, and that they had resolved to go there, and then each one withdrew himself.

[1] Cartier has previously estimated its length at about ten leagues. It is about seven.

And the next day, the 15th of the said month, the captain, accompanied by several of his men, went ashore, for to cause buoys and marks to be planted in order to more surely put the ships in safety. At the place we found a great number of the people of the country, and they presented themselves before us, and among others the said Donnacona, our two men and their band, who held themselves apart under a point of land, which is on the border of the said river, without any of them coming about us, as the others, who were not of their band, did. After the captain was notified that they were there, he commanded a part of his men to go with him, and they went toward them under the said point, and found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and many others of their band. And after having saluted each other, the said Taignoagny came forward to speak, and said to our captain that the said lord Donnacona was grieved for that the said captain and his men carried so many weapons of war, because on their part they carried none, to which the said captain replied that for his grief he would not leave off bearing them, and that it was the custom of France, and that he knew it well; but for all their words the said captain and Donnacona did not leave off making great cheer together. And we perceived that what Taignoagny said came only from himself and his companion, for before departing from the said place, the said Donnacona and the captain expressed a confidence of a marvelous sort, wherefore all the people of the said lord Donnacona burst out and made three cries together at full voice, which was a horrible thing to

hear, and so one took leave of the other, and we retired aboard for that day.

The next day, the 16th of the said month, we put the two largest ships into the said harbor and river, where there is at full sea three fathoms, and at low water a half-fathom ; and the pinnace was left in the roadstead in order to bring it to Hochelaga. And as soon as the said ships were in the said harbor and safe, Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Dom Agaya, with more than five hundred persons, men, women, and children, found themselves before the said ships, and the said lord entered with ten or twelve of the greatest personages of the country, who were feasted and received according to their rank by our said captain and others, and to them were given some small presents, and it was told to our captain by Taignoagny that the said lord was sorry that he was going to Hochelaga, and that the said lord desired that only he who spoke should go with him, as he had promised, because the river was of no account. And to him it was replied by the said captain that for all this he would not give up going there if it were possible to him, because he had commandment from the king, his master, to go the farthest that he could ; but that if the said Taignoagny would go thither as he had promised, he would make him a present, with which he would be contented, and great entertainment, and that he would only go to see the said Hochelaga and then return. To which the said Taignoagny responded that he would not go there ; whereupon they retired to their houses.

And the next day, the 17th of the said month,

the said Donnacona and the others came back as before, and brought store of eels and other fish, of which great fishing is made in the said river, as shall be told hereafter. When they were arrived before our said ships they began to sing and dance as was the custom; and after they had done this, the said Donnacona put all his folks on one side, and made a ring on the sand, and put our captain and his men in it; and thereupon began a great harangue, holding a girl of about the age of ten years by one of his hands, and then came to present her to our captain. And suddenly all the folks of the said lord betook themselves to making three cries in sign of joy and alliance. Then he again presented two little boys of lesser age, one after the other, at which they made such cries and ceremonies as before. For which present thus made by the said lord, he was thanked by our captain. And then Taignoagny told the captain that the girl was the own daughter of the sister of the said lord Donnacona, and one of the boys, brother of him who was speaking, and that they gave them to him with the intent that he should not go to Hochelaga; at which our captain replied to him that if they had given them to him with this intent they might take them back, and that he would not give up trying to go to the said Hochelaga for anything, because he had commandment to do this. Upon which words, Dom Agaya, companion of the said Taignoagny, replied to the said captain that the said lord had given him the said children through good will and in token of confidence, and that he was content to go with him to the said Hochelaga; at

which the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya had high words; whereby we perceived that the said Taignoagny was worthless, and that he devised by treason and malice as much for this as other bad turns that we had seen him do. And upon this the said captain had the said children put into the ships, and had two swords brought, a great basin of plain brass, and a ewer for to wash hands, and made a present of them to the said Donnacona, who was greatly pleased therewith and thanked our captain. And the said Donnacona commanded all of his folks to sing and dance, and prayed the said captain to have a piece of artillery fired off, because the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya had entertained him with it, as he had never seen or heard thereof. To which the captain responded that he wished him well, and commanded that they should fire off a dozen falconets[1] with their bullets athwart the woods which were next the said ships; with which they were all so amazed that they thought that the sky had fallen upon them, and betook themselves to whooping and howling so mightily that it seemed that hell had broken loose; and before they retired the said Taignoagny had it spread abroad by go-betweens that the crew of the pinnace, the which were in the roadstead, had killed two of their folks with artillery shots; at which all withdrew themselves in so great haste that it seemed as if we had wanted to kill them. This was not found true, because during the said day the said pinnace had not fired artillery.

[1] The falconet was a small piece of ordnance with a bore about two inches in diameter. In the reign of Henry II the weight of the shot was established in France at fourteen ounces.

HOW THE SAID DONNACONA, TAIGNOAGNY, AND OTHERS DEVISED AN ARTIFICE, AND HAD THREE MEN DRESSED IN THE GUISE OF DEVILS, FEIGNING TO HAVE COME FROM CUDOUAGNY,[1] THEIR GOD, FOR TO HINDER US FROM GOING TO THE SAID HOCHELAGA

THE next day, the 18th of the said month, thinking always to hinder us from going to Hochelaga, they devised a grand scheme which they effected thus. They had three men attired in the style of three devils, who had horns as long as one's arm and were clothed with skins of dogs, black and white, and had their faces painted as black as coal, and they caused them to be put into one of their boats unknown to us, and then came with their band near our ships as they had been accustomed, who kept themselves in the woods without appearing for about two hours, waiting till the time and tide should come for the arrival of the said boat, at which time they all came forth, and presented themselves before our said ships without approaching them as they were wont to do; and the said Taignoagny began to salute our captain, who asked him if he wanted to have the boat, whereupon the said Taignoagny replied to him, not at that time, but that presently he would enter into the said ships. And suddenly came the said boat wherein were the three men appearing to be three devils, having great horns on their heads, and he in the midst made a marvelous speech in coming, and they passed along our ships with their said boat, without in any wise turning their looks toward us, and went on striking and running on shore with their said boat; and, all

[1] "Cudouagny." Lescarbot says Cudonagny, the Bref Récit Cudriagny, and Hakluyt Cudruaigni. The word is Huron-Iroquois.

at once, the said lord Donnacona and his people seized the said boat and the said three men, the which were let fall to the bottom of it like dead men, and they carried the whole together into the woods, which were distant from the said ships a stone's throw; and not a single person remained before our said ships, but all withdrew themselves. And they, having retired, began a declamation and discourse that we heard from our ships, which lasted about a half-hour. After which the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya marched from the said woods toward us, having their hands joined, and their hats under their elbows, causing great admiration. And the said Taignoagny began to speak and cry out three times, "Jesus! Jesus! Jesus!" raising his eyes toward heaven. Then Dom Agaya began to say, "Jesus Maria! Jacques Cartier," looking toward heaven like the other. The captain, seeing their gestures and ceremonies, began to ask what was the matter, and what it was new that had happened, who responded that there were piteous news, saying, "Nenny, est il bon." And the said captain demanded of them afresh what it was, and they replied that their god, named Cudouagny, had spoken at Hochelaga, and that the three men aforesaid had come from him to announce to them the tidings that there was so much ice and snow that they would all die.[1] With which words we all took to laughing and to tell them that their god Cudouagny

[1] The question has been asked, "Why should Cudouagny speak at Hochelaga and send his messengers therefrom to warn persons at Stadaconé?" and the inference is that Hochelaga was "in some special manner sacred to him." *Vide* Jacques Cartier, Pope, p. 85. This inference is unsatisfactory. It would seem more reasonable to suppose that Cartier failed to grasp the exact meaning of the savages.

was but a fool, and that he knew not what he said, and that they should say it to his messengers, and that Jesus would guard them well from cold if they would believe in him. And then the said Taignoagny and his companion asked the said captain if he had spoken to Jesus, and he replied that his priests had spoken to him, and that he would make fair weather;[1] whereupon they thanked the said captain very much, and returned into the woods to tell the news to the others, who came out of the said woods immediately, feigning to be delighted with the said words thus spoken by the said captain. And to show that they were delighted with them, as soon as they were before the ships they began with a common voice to utter three shrieks and howls, which is their token of joy, and betook themselves to dancing and singing, as they had done from custom. But, for conclusion, the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya told our said captain that the said Donnacona would not that any of them should go with him to Hochelaga if he did not leave a hostage, who should abide ashore with the said Donnacona. To which he replied to them that if they had not decided to go there with good courage they might remain, and that for them he would not leave off making efforts to go there.[2]

[1] This direct declaration by Cartier indicates that he was accompanied by priests, and the burden of proof is in favor of this view. Besides his frequent allusions to circumstances indicating their presence is the fact that in the list of his companions appear two names with the prefix *Dom*. At this time the title *Dom* indicated a priest not provided with a curé's benefice; in other words, a simple chaplain such as would have been most likely to accompany adventurers into strange lands, not only to minister to their wants, but also to study the condition of the people of these lands for future missionary enterprises.

[2] The question naturally arises, Why did these savages so strenuously oppose Cartier's projected visit to Hochelaga? The most apparent reason

SECOND VOYAGE

HOW OUR CAPTAIN AND ALL THE GENTLEMEN, WITH FIFTY SEAMEN, SET OUT FROM THE PROVINCE OF CANADA WITH THE PINNACE AND THE TWO BOATS TO GO TO HOCHELAGA, AND OF WHAT WAS SEEN MEANWHILE UPON THE SAID RIVER

THE next day, that is to say, the nineteenth day of the said month of September, we got under way and made sail with the pinnace and the two boats for to go up the said river with the tide, where on both sides of it we found the fairest and best lands to look at that it may be possible to behold, as level as the sea, full of the goodliest trees in the world, and so many vines loaded with grapes along the said river that it seems that they may rather have been planted there by the hand of man than otherwise; but because they are not cultivated nor pruned, the grapes are not so big and sweet as ours.[1] Likewise we found a great many houses on the bank of the said river, the which are inhabited by people, who make great fishing of all good fish, according to their seasons, which people came to our ships with as great love and familiarity as if we had been of the country, bringing us much fish and whatever they had, in order to get our merchandise, stretching their hands to heaven and making many signs of joy. And we being stationed about twenty-five leagues from Canada, in a place named Achelaiy,[2] which is a narrow-

is that they were influenced by selfish considerations. Coveting all the benefits to be derived from the residence in their midst of the powerful strangers who dispensed treasures to them such as they had never before beheld, they were not disposed to share them with others.

[1] Without doubt the *Vitis cordifolia*.

[2] "Achelaiy." Lescarbot says Achelaci; Ramusio, Ochelai; the Bref Récit, Ochelay; Hakluyt, Hochelay and Hochelai; and Champlain says:

ing of the said river, very swift and dangerous as much from stones as from other things, there came a number of boats alongside, and among others there came a great lord of the country, the which made a long discourse on approaching and coming alongside, showing by evident signs with his hands and other ceremonies that the said river a little farther up was most dangerous, and warning us to be on our guard. And this lord presented to the captain two of his children as a gift, of which the captain took a girl of the age of about eight to nine years, and refused a boy of two or three years because he was too small. The said captain entertained the said lord and his band with whatever he could, and gave him some small present; for which the said lord thanked the said captain; then they went away to land, and afterward the said lord and his wife came as far as Canada[1] to see their daughter, and brought some presents to the captain. From the nineteenth day until the twenty-eighth of the said month we were navigating up the said river without losing an hour's time any day, during which time we saw and found as fine country and lands as one could desire, full, as is said, of the finest trees in the world: to wit,

"What is now called St. Croix was then called Achelacy, at a narrow pass where the river is very swift and dangerous on account of the rocks and other things, and which can only be passed at flood-tide. Its distance from Quebec and the river where Cartier wintered is fifteen leagues." A recent Canadian writer locates it at the mouth of the Richelieu, while Pope places it at Point au Platon, thirty nautical miles above Quebec. *Vide* Jacques Cartier, Pope, Ottawa, 1889, p. 77; Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, p. 670, tome ii, p. 188; Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot, Paris, 1866, tome ii, p. 310.

[1] Canada was limited by Cartier to the region between the Isle of Bacchus and Hochelaga. The Bref Récit says that these children were from seven to eight years of age.

oaks, elms, walnuts, pines, cedars, firs,[1] ash, birches, willows, osiers, and, what are better, a great many vines, the which had so great abundance of grapes that the crew came aboard all loaded down with them. There are likewise numberless cranes,[2] swans, bustards, geese, ducks, larks, pheasants, partridge, blackbirds, thrushes, turtle-doves, goldfinches, canaries,

[1] In the original, "pruches" are the *Abies alba, nigra*, and *balsamea;* "briez," or rather "boulx," must be the canoe birch (*Betula papyracea*); and "sandres," or willows, the *Salix discolor* and *alba*.

[2] "Grues." The sand-hill crane (*Grus Canadensis*). The "signes" of Cartier should be the trumpeter-swan (*Cygnus buccinator*) spoken of by Sagard (*vide* Histoire du Canada, Paris, 1866, tome iii, p. 673). He says: "Nos Hurons les appellent Horhey, mais il s'en trouve peu dans leur pais, c'est principalement vers les Ebicerinys où il s'en voit plus grande quantité dans les terres & en Canada en quelques lacs." The bird called "oultarde," or bustard, by Cartier was doubtless the brant-goose (*Branta bernicla*), and was so named by him on account of a supposed resemblance to the European bird known to ornithologists as the otis. The "oyes," or geese, were of more than a single variety. Certainly the common Canada and snow goose (*Branta Canadensis* and *Anser hyperboreus*) were in evidence, and probably the white-fronted variety (*Anser albifrons*). It may also be said of the "cannes," or ducks, that there were several varieties. Champlain speaks of three kinds.

The "allouettes," or larks, were probably the *Anthus Ludovicianus*, the common brown variety; the "faisans," or pheasants, the *Bonasa umbella;* the "perdrix," or partridges, the *Tetrao Canadensis;* the "merles," or blackbirds, the *Agelæus phœniceus*, spoken of by Champlain; the "manuis," or thrushes, the *Merula migratoria*, or American robin; the "teurtres," or turtle-doves, the *Columba Carolinensis;* the "chardonnereulx," or goldfinches, the *Spinus tristis;* the "serins," translated canaries, the *Chrysomitris tristis*, or thistle-bird. Just what Cartier means by "roussignolz," or nightingales, is not so apparent. Probably he alludes to the whippoorwill (*Antrostomus vociferus*) and perhaps the *Chordeiles Virginianus*. The song of the latter can hardly be called musical, nor can that of the European nightingale except for a short season. Josselyn, in his Rarities (p. 46,) says there are no nightingales in New England; but in his Voyages (p. 79) contradicts himself and says that there are "nightingales painted with orient colours, black, white, bleu, yellow, green and scarlet, and sing sweetly." Neither of the birds named (*A. vociferus* nor *C. Virginianus*) has any such plumage as Josselyn describes. The "passes solitaires," or sparrows, are perhaps the *Zonotrichia leucophrys*. *Cf.* Relations des Jésuites, tome i, pp. 10, 47; Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Charlevoix, Paris, 1744, tome i, p.

linnets, nightingales, and other birds, as in France, and in great abundance. The said twenty-eighth day of September we came into a great lake and shoal of the said river, about five or six leagues broad and twelve long, and navigated that day up the said lake without finding shallowing nor deepening, and coming to one of the ends of the said lake, not any passage or egress appeared to us; it seemed rather to be completely closed, without any stream. And we found at the said end but a fathom and a half, wherefore it behooved us to lay to and heave out the anchor, and go to seek passage with our boats. And we found that there were four or five streams all flowing from the said river into this lake and coming from the said Hochelaga; but, by their flowing out so, there are bars and passages made by the course of the water, where there was then only a fathom in depth. And the said bars being passed, there are four or five fathoms, which was at the time of year of the lowest waters, as we saw by the flow of the said waters that they increased more than two fathoms by pike.

All these streams flow by and surround five or six fair islands,[1] which form the head of the said lake;[2] then they come together about fifteen leagues above

197 *et seq.;* Dictionnaire de la Langue Huron, Sagard, Paris, 1632, *in loco;* Nouveaux Voyages, Lahontan, À la Haye, 1703, tome ii, p. 44; Letters to the Duchesse de Lesdiguières, Charlevoix, London, 1723, p. 88; Wood's New England Prospect, p. 30; Histoire du Canada, Sagard, Paris, 1866, tome iii, p. 668 *et seq.;* Histoire de la Amérique Sept., de la Potherie, Paris, 1722, tome i, pp. 20, 212, 308.

[1] The present Sorel Islands, the streams being the channels between them.

[2] Cartier does not name this lake, which was subsequently named Lac d'Angoulesme—Thevet says in honor of his birthplace, but more likely for Francis I, Comte d'Angoulême. Champlain entered it on the 29th of June, 1603, which was the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and gave it the name

all into one. That day we went to one of them, where we found five men, who were hunting wild beasts, the which came as familiarly to our boats as if they had seen us all their lives, without having fear or apprehension; and our said boats having come to land, one of these men took our captain in his arms and carried him ashore as lightly as he would have carried a child of five years, so large and strong was this man. We found they had a great pile of wild rats,[1] which live in the water, and are as large as rabbits, and wonderfully good to eat, of which they made a present to our captain, who gave them knives and paternosters for recompense. We asked them by signs if that was the way to Hochelaga; they answered us yes, and that it was still three days' journey to go there.

HOW THE CAPTAIN HAD THE BOATS FITTED OUT FOR TO GO TO THE SAID HOCHELAGA, AND LEFT THE PINNACE, OWING TO THE DIFFICULTY OF THE PASSAGE; AND HOW WE CAME TO THE SAID HOCHELAGA, AND THE RECEPTION THAT THE PEOPLE GAVE US AT OUR ARRIVAL

THE next day our captain, seeing that it was not possible then to be able to pass the said pinnace, had the boats victualed and fitted out, and put in provisions for the longest time that he possibly could and that the said boats could take in, and set out with

of Lac St. Pierre, which it still bears. The lake is about twenty-seven miles in length and seven in width. *Vide* Cosmographie Universelle, Thevet, Paris, 1575, tome ii, p. 1011; Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, p. 32.

[1] These rats, called by Cartier "raz sauvages," were muskrats (*Ondatra zibethicus*), and their skins subsequently became an important source of wealth to Cartier's successors. The Algonkin name is *mooskouessou*, from which we get the English musquash. There are several varieties. *Vide* Relation de la Nouvelle France, Quebec, 1858, tome i, p. 18 *et seq.*

them, accompanied by a part of the gentlemen,— to wit, Claude du Pont Briand, grand cupbearer to my lord the Dauphin, Charles de la Pommeraye, Jehan Gouion, with twenty-eight mariners, including with them Marc Jalobert and Guillaume le Breton, having the charge under the said Cartier,— for to go up the said river the farthest that it might be possible for us. And we navigated with weather at will until the second day of October,[1] when we arrived at the said Hochelaga, which is about forty-five leagues distant from the place where the said pinnace was left, during which time and on the way we found many folks of the country, the which brought us fish and other victuals, dancing and showing great joy at our coming. And to attract and hold them in amity with us, the said captain gave them for recompense some knives, paternosters, and other trivial goods, with which they were much content. And we having arrived at the said Hochelaga, more than a thousand persons presented themselves before us, men, women, and children alike, the which gave us as good reception as ever father did to child, showing marvelous joy; for the men in one band danced, the women on their side and the children on the other, the which brought us store of fish and of their bread made of coarse millet,[2] which they cast into our said boats in a way that it seemed as if it tumbled from the air. Seeing this, our said captain landed with a number of his men, and as soon as he was landed they gathered all about him, and about all the others, giving them an unrestrained welcome.

[1] Ramusio and the Bref Récit have it the nineteenth, which is an error.
[2] Maize or Indian corn.

And the women brought their children in their arms to make them touch the said captain and others, making a rejoicing which lasted more than half an hour. And our captain, witnessing their liberality and good will, caused all the women to be seated and ranged in order, and gave them certain paternosters of tin and other trifling things, and to a part of the men knives. Then he retired on board the said boats to sup and pass the night, while these people remained on the shore of the said river nearest the said boats all night, making fires and dancing, crying all the time "Aguyaze!" which is their expression of mirth and joy.

HOW THE CAPTAIN AND GENTLEMEN, WITH TWENTY-FIVE SEAMEN, WELL ARMED AND IN GOOD ORDER, WENT TO THE TOWN OF HOCHELAGA,[1] AND OF THE SITUATION OF THE SAID PLACE

The next day, in the early morning, the captain attired himself and had his men put in order to go to

[1] "Hochelaga." The exact spot where Cartier landed has never been positively settled. The Bref Récit states that he landed two leagues from the Indian town, which was a quarter of a league from the mountain which he named Mont Royal. Hakluyt makes the latter distance a league. Faillon thinks that Cartier ascended the river to the Lachine Rapids; but it is difficult to find a sufficient reason for this view. It would seem more reasonable to infer from the account that he landed somewhere opposite Nun's Island. From remains found some years ago Dawson locates the site of Hochelaga in the space between Metcalf and Mansfield streets in one direction and Burnside Place and Sherbrooke Street in the other. In Iroquois the place known as Montreal is Tiohtiaki, which Faillon identified as the Tutonaguy of Cartier's third voyage. The meaning of the word Hochelaga is uncertain. Cuoq says that it means "à la chaussée des Castors," i.e., "at the Beavers' dam." Other significations have been given, but all are unsatisfactory. *Vide* Histoire de la Colonie Canadienne, Faillon, vol. i, p. 524; *ibid*, ii, p. 16; Canadian Naturalist, Dawson, vol. v, p. 430, vol. vi, p. 362; Lexique de la Langue Iroquois, *in loco;* and Voyages of the English Nation, Hakluyt, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. ii, p. 123.

see the town and habitation of the said people, and a mountain that is adjacent to their said town, whither the gentlemen and twenty mariners went with the said captain, and left the rest for the guard of the boats, and took three men of the said town of Hochelaga to bring and conduct them to the said place. And we, being on the road, found it as well beaten as it might be possible to behold, and the fairest and best land, all full of oaks as fine as there may be in a forest of France, under the which all the ground was covered with acorns. And we, having marched about a league and a half, found on the way one of the chief lords of the said town of Hochelaga, accompanied by a number of persons, the which made us a sign that we should rest at the said place near a fire that they had made by the said road, which we did, and then the said lord began to make a discourse and oration, as heretofore is said to be their custom of showing joy and familiarity, this lord thereby showing welcome to the said captain and his company; the which captain gave him a couple of hatchets and a couple of knives, with a cross and memorial of the crucifixion, which he made him kiss, and hung it on his neck, for which he rendered thanks to the said captain. This done, we marched farther on, and about a half-league from there we began to find the land cultivated, and fair, large fields full of grain of their country, which is like Brazil millet, as big or bigger than peas, on which they live just as we do on wheat; and in the midst of these fields is located and seated the town of Hochelaga, near to and adjoining a mountain, which is cultivated round about it and highly fertile, from the summit

of which one sees a very great distance. We named the said mountain Mont Royal. The said town is quite round and inclosed with timbers in three rows in the style of a pyramid, crossed at the top, having the middle row in the style of a perpendicular line; then ranged with timbers laid along, well joined and tied in their manner, and is in height about two pikes. There is in this town but one gate and entrance, which fastens with bars, upon which and in many places of the said inclosure there are kinds of galleries and ladders to mount to them, which are furnished with rocks and stones for the guard and defense of it. There are within this town about fifty long houses of about fifty paces or more each, and twelve or fifteen paces wide, and all made of timbers covered and garnished with great pieces of bark and strips of the said timber, as broad as tables, well tied artificially according to their manner. And within these there are many lodgings and chambers, and in the middle of these houses there is a great room on the ground where they make their fire and live in common; after that the men retire with their wives and children to their said chambers. Likewise they have granaries at the top of their houses where they put their corn of which they make their bread, which they call *carraconny*,[1] and they make it in the manner following: they have mortars of wood as for braying flax, and beat the said corn into powder with pestles of wood; then they mix it into paste and make round cakes of it, which they put on a broad stone that is hot; then they cover it with hot stones, and so bake their bread instead of in an oven. They make

[1] *Carraconny*. Lescarbot has it *caraconi*. The word is Huron-Iroquois.

likewise many stews of the said corn, and beans and peas, of which they have enough, and also of big cucumbers[1] and other fruits. They have also in their houses great vessels like tuns, where they put their fish, namely, eels and others, the which they dry in the smoke during the summer and live upon it in the winter. And of this they make a great store, as we have seen by experience. All their living is without any taste of salt, and they lie on barks of trees stretched upon the earth, with wretched coverings of skins from which they make their clothing—namely, wolves, beavers, martens, foxes, wild cats, deer, stags, and other wild beasts; but the most part of them go almost entirely naked. The most precious thing that they have in this world is *esnogny*,[2] the which is white as snow, and they take it in the same river from the *corni-*

[1] "Grosses concombres." Josselyn and other writers speak of the cucumber as being cultivated by the Indians. The cucumber now known to us, viz., the *Cucumis sativus*, is a native of Asia and not indigenous to North America. There is little doubt that the cucumber of Cartier was the *Cucurbita verrucosa*, commonly known as the crook-necked squash.

[2] *Esnogny*, the wampum of the Abnakis. It was called by the Dutch *zee-wand*, from *seahwhoun*, "scattered" or "loose." Roger Williams gives us the meaning of the word wampum. He says: "The Indians are ignorant of Europes Coyne: their own is of two sorts; one white which they make of the stem or stocke of the Periwincle. The second is black inclining to blue. Their white they call Wompam, (which signifies white): their black, Suckaúhoch (Sucki signifying blacke)." French writers sometimes denominated it porcelain, the name given to the shell of the *Cypræa*, owing to its resemblance to the enamel of Oriental pottery, then somewhat rare. *Vide* Littré *in loco*. The New England Indians made their wampum from various shells, as the *Venus mercenaria*, *Pyrula carica* and *canaliculata*. From these shells cylindrical pieces were cut, bored, and strung upon sinews. From these were woven belts of various widths, which were used for adornment and as a medium of exchange with Europeans. *Vide* A Key into the Language of America, Roger Williams, London, 1643, pp. 144, 151; Wood's New England's Prospect, Boston, 1865, p. 69; American Naturalist, vol. xvii, pp. 467–479; and Indian Wampum Records, in Popular Science Monthly for February, 1897.

botz[1] in the manner which follows: When a man has deserved death, or when they have taken any enemies in war, they kill them, then cut them upon the buttocks, thighs, and shoulders with great gashes; afterward in the places where the said esnogny is they sink the said body to the bottom of the water, and leave it ten or twelve hours; then draw it up and find within the said gashes and incisions the said cornibotz, of which they make bead money and use it as we do gold and silver, and hold it the most precious thing in the world. It has the virtue of stanching blood from the nostrils, because we have tried it. All the said people give themselves only to tillage and fishing for a living; for of the goods of this world they make no account, because they have no knowledge of them, and as they budge not from their country, and do not go about like those of Canada and of the Saguenay. Notwithstanding, the said Canadians are their subjects, with eight or nine other peoples who are upon the said river.

HOW WE ARRIVED AT THE SAID TOWN, AND OF THE RECEPTION WHICH WAS MADE US THERE, AND HOW THE CAPTAIN MADE THEM PRESENTS; AND OTHER THINGS THAT THE SAID CAPTAIN DID, AS SHALL BE SEEN IN THIS CHAPTER

When we had arrived near the town, a great number of the inhabitants of it presented themselves be-

[1] *Cornibotz.* The exact meaning of this word is still in doubt. It has been suggested that it was a vulgar local term familiar to Cartier and derived from *cornet*, a word used by some old French writers to designate a shell of the genus *Voluta*, which, resembling the shell used by the Indians in their esnogny, was the occasion of its application in this case. Happily, a specimen of the shell used in the esnogny of the Hochelagans has been unearthed, and is found to be the *Unio ventricosus*.

fore us, who, after their fashion of doing, gave us a good reception; and by our guides and conductors we were brought to the middle of the town, where there was a place between the houses the extent of a stone's throw or about in a square, who made us a sign that we should stop at the said place, which we did. And suddenly all the women and girls of the said town assembled together, a part of whom were burdened with children in their arms, and who came to us to stroke our faces, arms, and other places upon our bodies that they could touch; weeping with joy to see us; giving us the best welcome that was possible to them, and making signs to us that it might please us to touch their said children. After the which things the men made the women retire, and seated themselves on the ground about us, as if we might wish to play a mystery.[1] And, suddenly, a number of men came again, who brought each a square mat in the fashion of a carpet, and spread them out upon the ground in the middle of the said place and made us rest upon them. After which things were thus done there was brought by nine or ten men the king and lord of the country, whom they call in their language Agohanna,[2] who was seated upon a great skin of a stag; and they came to set him down in the said place upon the said mats beside our captain, making us a sign that he was their king and lord. This Agohanna was about the age of fifty years, and was not better appareled than the others, save that he had about his head a kind of red band for his crown, made of the quills of porcupines;[3] and this lord was wholly

[1] That is, a mystery play. Such plays were then common in Europe.
[2] *Vide* p. 144, note 3. [3] "Herisson"—doubtless the *Hystrix Canadensis*.

impotent and diseased in his limbs. After he had made his sign of salutation to the said captain and to his folks, making them evident signs that they should make them very welcome, he showed his arms and legs to the said captain, praying that he would touch them, as though he would beg healing and health from him; and then the captain began to stroke his arms and legs with his hands; whereupon the said Agohanna took the band and crown that he had upon his head and gave it to our captain; and immediately there were brought to the said captain many sick ones, as blind, one-eyed, lame, impotent, and folks so very old that the lids of their eyes hung down even upon their cheeks, setting and laying them down nigh to our said captain for him to touch them, so that it seemed as if God had descended there in order to cure them.

Our said captain, seeing the misery and faith of this said people, recited the Gospel of St. John: to wit, the *In principio*, making the sign of the cross on the poor sick ones, praying God that he might give them knowledge of our holy faith and the passion of our Saviour, and grace to receive Christianity and baptism. Then our said captain took a prayer-book and read full loudly, word by word, the passion of our Lord, so that all the bystanders could hear it, while all these poor people kept a great silence and were marvelously good hearers, looking up to heaven and making the same ceremonies that they saw us make; after which the captain made all the men range themselves on one side, the women on another, and the children another, and gave to the chiefs hatchets, to the others knives, and to the women paternosters[1]

[1] These were rosaries of a cheap form. Hakluyt calls them beads,

and other trifling articles; then he threw into the midst of the place among the little children some small rings and Agnus Dei[1] of tin, at which they showed a marvelous joy. This done, the said captain commanded the trumpets and other instruments of music to sound, with which the said people were greatly delighted; after which things we took leave of them and withdrew. Seeing this, the women put themselves before us for to stop us, and brought us of their victuals, which they had prepared for us, as fish, stews, beans, and other things, thinking to make us eat and dine at the said place; and because their victuals were not to our taste and had no savor of salt, we thanked them, making them a sign that we did not need to eat.

After we had issued from the said town many men and women came to conduct us upon the mountain aforesaid, which was by us named Mont Royal, distant from the said place some quarter of a league; and we, being upon this mountain, had sight and observance for more than thirty leagues round about it. Toward the north of which is a range of mountains which stretches east and west, and toward the south as well; between which mountains the land is the fairest that it may be possible to see, smooth, level, and tillable; and in the middle of the said lands we saw the said river[2] beyond the place where our boats were left, where there is a waterfall,[3] the most impetuous

which they were; but they should not be confounded with the glass beads which the Indians subsequently received from the English, and which became one of their most coveted possessions.

[1] The Agnus Dei, strictly speaking, is made of wax; these were small tin lambs, an animal altogether strange to the savages and which must have greatly excited their admiration.

[2] This is the St. Lawrence. [3] The Lachine Rapids

that it may be possible to see, and which it was impossible for us to pass. And we saw this river as far as one could discern, grand, broad, and extensive, which flowed toward the southwest and passed near three fair, round mountains which we saw and estimated that they were about fifteen leagues from us. And we were told and shown by signs by our said three men[1] of the country who had conducted us that there were three such falls of water on the said river like that where our said boats were, but we could not understand what the distance was between the one and the other. Then they showed us by signs that, the said falls being passed, one could navigate more than three moons[2] by the said river; and beyond they showed us that along the said mountains, being toward the north, there is a great stream, which descends from the west like the said river.[3] We reckoned that this is the stream which passes by the realm and province of Saguenay, and, without having made them any request or sign, they took the chain from the captain's whistle, which was of silver, and the haft of a poniard, the which was of copper, yellow like gold, which hung at the side of one of our mariners, and showed that it came from above the said river,[4] and that

[1] So in the original, though this is the first mention of the number of those acting as guides.

[2] In the manuscript apparently "Plus de trois lieues"—that is, leagues; but there is no doubt that the term used by the Indians to denote months, namely, *lunes*, or moons, was intended. Lescarbot and Ramusio both use the word *lunes*.

[3] This was the Ottawa.

[4] It has been said that the savages were playing upon the credulity of the Frenchmen, and also that they were only attempting to show how the silvery waters of the St. Lawrence flow side by side with the yellow waters of the Ottawa without commingling; but this is mere conjecture, and it seems more reasonable to suppose that they wished to indicate that these metals came somewhere from the west.

there were Agojuda,[1] which is to say evil folks, the which are armed even to the fingers, showing us the style of their armor, which is of cords and of wood laced and woven together, giving us to understand that the said Agojuda carried on continual war against one another; but by default of speech we could not learn how far it was to the said country. Our captain showed them some red copper,[2] which they call *caignetdaze*, pointing them toward the said place, and asking by signs if it came from there, and they began to shake their heads, saying no, and showing that it came from Saguenay, which is to the contrary of the preceding. After which things thus seen and understood, we withdrew to our boats, which was not without being conducted by a great number of the said people, of which part of them, when they saw our folk weary, loaded them upon themselves, as upon horses, and carried them. And we, having arrived at our said boats, made sail to return to our pinnace, for doubt that there might be some hindrance; which departure was not made without great regret of the said people, for as far as they could follow us down the said river they would follow us, and we accomplished so much that we arrived at our said pinnace Monday, the fourth day of October.

[1] "Agojuda." Bref Récit, Agonionda. The people described by this title of evil men were the same as those subsequently denominated Toudamans, and without doubt were Iroquois.

[2] This "red copper," so called to distinguish it from *laiton*, *cuivre jaune*, or yellow copper, which was one of the most precious possessions of the savages, probably came from the region of Lake Superior. Champlain was told by an Algonkin, when he visited the site of Montreal, that toward the north was a mine of pure copper, and he was shown bracelets made of this metal which were obtained from the "good Iroquois," as the Hurons were called. *Vide* Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, p. 112, and Prehistoric Copper Implements, in New England Historic Genealogical Register for January, 1879.

Tuesday, the fifth day of the said month, we made sail, and got under way with our said pinnace and boats in order to return to the province of Canada, to the port of St. Croix, where our said ships were left; and the seventh day we came to abreast of a stream which comes from near the north going into the said river, at a distance from which there are four little islands full of trees. We named this stream the Whip River;[1] and because one of these islands projects itself into the said river and one sees it from afar, the captain had a fair great cross planted on the point of it, and commanded to make ready the boats to go with the tide into this river for to see the depth and nature of it, which was done; and we rowed that day up the said river, but because it was not found of any capability nor depth we returned and got under way to go down.

HOW WE ARRIVED AT THE HARBOR OF ST. CROIX, AND THE ORDER IN WHICH WE FOUND OUR SHIPS, AND HOW THE LORD OF THE COUNTRY CAME TO SEE OUR CAPTAIN, AND HOW THE SAID CAPTAIN WENT TO SEE HIM, AND PART OF THEIR CUSTOMS IN PARTICULAR

Monday, the eleventh day of October, we arrived at the said harbor of St. Croix, where our ships were,

[1] "La rivière du Fouez." According to Hakluyt, Fouetz, or Whip River, which well characterizes it. Lescarbot remarks that he thinks Cartier meant to say Foix,— that is, the River of Faith,— as he believed that it would open the way to the land of his dreams, the golden Cathay. It bears this name on Douval's map of 1679. It was subsequently named Trois Rivières, owing to its division into three channels by islands near its mouth. Father Le Jeune tells us that its Indian name was Metaberoutin, and it is so named on the map of Creuxius, 1660. Cartier speaks of four islands at its mouth, and Champlain of six, the present number. It is now known as the St. Maurice.

and found that the masters and mariners who had been left had made a fort before the said ships all inclosed with large sticks of timber planted on end, joining one another, and garnished all about with artillery, and well in order to defend themselves against all the country. And as soon as the lord of the country was notified of our coming he came the next day, the twelfth day of the said month, accompanied by Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, with many others, to see the said captain, and gave him a marvelous welcome, feigning to be delighted at his coming, the which likewise gave them as good reception albeit they had not deserved it. The said lord Donnacona prayed our captain to go the next day to see Canada, which the said captain promised him. And the next day, the thirteenth day of the said month, the said captain, with his gentlemen, accompanied by fifty companions well in order, went to see the said Donnacona and his people, who was distant from the place where our ships were a half-league; and their abode is named Stadaconé. And we being arrived at the same place, the inhabitants came to meet us the distance of a stone's throw or better from their houses, and there they ranged and seated themselves after their manner and style of doing — the men on one side, and the women standing up on the other, singing and dancing without ceasing. And after they had done saluting among them and greeting one another, the said captain gave the men some knives and other things of small value, and made all the women and girls pass before him, and gave to each a ring of tin, for which they thanked the said captain, who was by the said Donnacona and Taignoagny brought to

see their houses, which were well stored with provisions after their sort for passing their winter. And the said captain was shown by the said Donnacona the skins of five men's heads stretched upon wood like skins of parchment,[1] the which Donnacona told us that they were from the Toudamans,[2] toward the south, who made war continually against them; and further it was told us that it was two years past that the said Toudamans came to assail them within the said river at an island[3] which is over against Saguenay, where they were to pass the night, waiting to go to Honguedo[4] to make war against them with about two hundred persons, men, women, and children together, who were surprised while sleeping within a fort that they had made, where the said Toudamans put fire all about it, and as they came

[1] The practice of scalping was common to most of the savage tribes of North America. Some of the tribes on the Pacific coast carried away the heads of their victims. *Vide* Contributions to American Ethnology, Washington, 1877, vol. i, p. 192; vol. iii, pp. 21, 129, 221; Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, p. 94; Relation de la Nouvelle France, vol. i, p. 13.

[2] "Toudamans." Hakluyt, Toudamani; Bref Récit, Trudamans. These were without doubt the ferocious Iroquois, who a few years later destroyed Stadaconé and Hochelaga and absorbed those of their inhabitants who were spared. The meaning of the name Iroquois is uncertain. Charlevoix says that the name is from *hiro*, "I have spoken," a word with which these Indians close all their speeches, and *kowe*, which when long drawn out is a cry of sorrow, and when briefly uttered is an exclamation of joy. Hale, however, a most excellent authority, derives it from *Jerokwa*, meaning Tobacco People. *Vide* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Charlevoix, Paris, 1744, tome i, p. 421; Iroquois Book of Rites, Hale, pp. 9–12, 51, 171; Mœurs des Sauvages, Lafitau, tome i, p. 32.

[3] This island in the St. Lawrence, near Bic, is to-day known as Ile au Massacre, which name was given it many years ago on account of the discovery in a cave thereon of a large quantity of human bones. An examination has proved these bones to be those of men, women, and children. This has led to the belief that they were the relics of Donnacona's people and attest the truth of his story.

[4] "Honguedo." The present Gaspé.

out killed them all except five who escaped, for the which undoing they still greatly lamented, showing us that they would have vengeance for it; after which things we returned to our ships.

OF THE MANNER OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SAID LAND, AND OF CERTAIN CONDITIONS, BELIEF, AND MANNER OF MAKING WHAT THEY HAVE

THE said people have not any belief in God which may avail, for they believe in one whom they call Cudouagny, and they say that he speaks frequently to them and tells them what the weather should be. They say also that when he is angry with them he throws dirt in their eyes. They believe also that when they depart they go to the stars, then go declining to the horizon like the said stars, then pass into fair fields toward plains of beautiful trees, flowers, and sumptuous fruits.[1] After they had given us to understand these things we showed them their error and said that their Cudouagny is an evil spirit who abuses them, and said that there is only one God,

[1] The conceptions of deity and of the life after death by the savages of North America were vague and fanciful in the extreme. They saw a deity in almost every object of animate and in some objects of inanimate nature; but they all believed in one supreme deity to whom all others were subordinate. The deity of the Stadaconeans here spoken of was probably their chief one, as it is not likely that they would have tried to impress their visitors, whom they without doubt regarded as beings of a higher order than themselves, with the importance of one of their inferior deities. The Stadaconeans' idea of heaven and its location in the region of the setting sun was common to most tribes of North American Indians, and was probably a relic of sun-worship. *Cf.* Journal Historique, Charlevoix, Paris, 1744, pp. 344–347; Algic Researches, Schoolcraft, New York, 1839; Myths of the New World, Brinton, New York, 1896; Mœurs des Sauvages, Lafitau, tome i, pp. 126–127, 145; Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1891, pp. 193–213.

who is in heaven, who gives us all things necessary, and is the creator of all things, and that in him only should we believe, and that it was necessary to be baptized or go to hell. And many other things of our faith were shown them which they readily believed, and called their Cudouagny, Agojuda,[1] so that many times they prayed our captain to have them baptized. And the said lord Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and all the people of their town, came there for the purpose of being baptized; but because we knew not their intention and sincerity, and that there was none that could show them the faith there, excuse was made to them, and it was told Taignoagny and Dom Agaya that they should make them understand that we should return another voyage, and would bring priests and holy oil, giving them to understand for excuse that one could not be baptized without the said holy oil,[2] which they believed because they saw several children baptized in Brittany, and of the promise that the captain made them to return they were very joyous and thanked him.

The said people live in almost a community of goods, rather of the style of the Brazilians, and are wholly clothed with skins of wild beasts and poorly enough. In winter they are shod with stockings and shoes, and in summer they go barefoot. They keep the order of marriage, save that they take two or three wives, and after the husband is dead the wives never re-marry, but wear mourning for the said dead all their lives, and besmear their faces with coal-dust

[1] Evil or malicious.

[2] The strongest argument against the claim that Cartier was accompanied by priests is here presented.

and with grease as thick as the thickness of a knife; and by that one knows that they are widows.[1] They have another custom, very bad for their girls; for after they are of age to marry they are all put into a common house, abandoned to everybody who desires them until they have found their match. And all this we have seen by experience, for we have seen the houses as full of the said girls as is a school of boys in France.[2] And, moreover, gaming according to their manner is held in the said houses, where they stake all that they have, even to the covering of their nature.[3] They do not any great work, and with little pieces of wood about the size of a half-sword cultivate their land whereon they raise their corn, which they call *zis*, the which is as big as peas, of the same grain in growth as in Brazil. Likewise they have a great quantity of big melons,[4] cucumbers, and pump-

[1] Schoolcraft bears testimony to the prevalence of the same custom among some of the wild tribes of the West, and says that "when a family bury a member or relative they black their faces and bodies." Cartier's statement is amply supported by other writers, who testify to the almost universal use of black as a sign of mourning among uncivilized as well as civilized peoples. *Vide* Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge, Philadelphia, 1860, vol. iv, p. 55.

[2] In this statement Cartier is also well supported by later writers on the subject of courtship and marriage among the savages.

[3] The Indians were inveterate gamesters. Wood, writing of the Massachusetts Indians, says that they spent "halfe their dayes in gaming and lazing. They have two sorts of games, one called Puim, the other Hubbub, not much unlike Cards and Dice:—They are so bewitched with these two games, that they will lose sometimes all they have. Beaver, Mooseskinnes, Kettles, Wampompeage, Mowhackies, Hatchets, Knives, all is confiscate by those two games." *Vide* Wood's New England's Prospect, Boston, 1885, p. 95 *et seq.*

[4] The melon (*Cucumis melo*) is not indigenous to North America, and has never been found growing wild. It is supposed to be a native of India and to have found its way to western Europe through Persia. What were, then, the "gros melons" seen by Cartier and the "Mush Mellons" which Josselyn saw among the Indians of New England and declared to be "bet-

kins,[1] peas and beans[2] of all colors, not of the kind of ours. They have also an herb of which during the summer they make great store for the winter, the which they greatly esteem, and the men only use it in the manner following. They have it dried in the sun and carry it about their necks in a little beast's skin in

ter than our English" ? Champlain, who followed Cartier, does not speak of melons seen by him, but mentions "citrouilles," which are probably the melons of Cartier, and some variety of summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha?*), then unknown to Europe. Of one variety of this new vegetable Roger Williams thus speaks: "Askútasquash, their Vine apples, which the English from them call Squashes, about the bignesse of Apples, of severall colours, a sweet, light wholesome refreshing"; and William Wood: "Isquoutersquashes is their best bread, a fruite like a young Pumpion." Josselyn applies the word melon to the squash. He says: "Squashes, but more truly Squoutersquashes, a kind of Mellon, or rather Gourd, for they sometime degenerate into Gourds; some of these are green, some yellow, some longish, like a Gourd, others round like an Apple, all of them pleasant food boyled and buttered, and seasoned with spice; but the yellow Squash called an Apple Squash because like an Apple, and about the bigness of a Pome-water, is the best kind." The Indians of New England cultivated the watermelon (*Cucurbita citrullus*); but it seems improbable that this was what Cartier alludes to. *Cf.* A Key into the Language of America, London, 1643, p. 103; Chronological History of Plants, Pickering, Boston, 1879, part ii, pp. 747–749; New England's Prospect, Boston, 1865, p. 76; Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Strachey, London, 1849, p. 119; New England's Rarities, Josselyn, Boston, 1865, pp. 109, 147; Histoire du Canada, Sagard, Paris, 1866, p. 707; Geogr. Bot. de Candolle, vol. ii, pp. 899, 904; Two Voyages to New England, Josselyn, Boston, 1865, pp. 60, 101.

[1] "Courges." Cartier uses this word, literally gourds, to describe the pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), with which he was unacquainted. Subsequent writers denominate it the pompion and pumpion, from the French *pompon*. Its mention by Cartier proves beyond doubt that the pumpkin was cultivated by the Indians before the advent of Europeans. It has been claimed to be a native of the Levant and also of Astrakhan.

[2] "Poix & febues" (*Lathyrus maritimus* and *Phaseolus vulgaris*). Champlain denominates the beans which he saw as "Febues du Bresil." Josselyn informs us that the Indians cultivated several kinds of beans. Describing them, he says: "They are variegated much, some being bigger a great deal than others; some white, black, red, yellow, blue, spotted." *Vide* Two Voyages to New England, Josselyn, Boston, 1865, p. 60, and Rarities, p. 108.

place of a bag, with a horn of stone or wood; then by and by they make powder of the said herb and put it in one of the ends of the said horn, then put a coal of fire thereon and suck at the other end so long that they fill their bodies with smoke, insomuch that it comes out by the mouth and nostrils as by a chimney funnel; and they say that it keeps them healthy and warm, and they never go without having their said things. We have tried the said smoke, which, after being put into our mouths, seemed to be powder of pepper put therein, it was so hot.[1] The women of the said country work beyond comparison more than the men, as well in fishing, of which they make a great business, as in tilling and other things; and men, women, and children alike are more hardened to the cold than beasts, for with the greatest cold that we may have seen, the which was extreme and bitter, they came over the ice and snow every day to our ships, the most part of them almost entirely naked, which is an incredible thing to one who has not seen it. They take during the said ice and snow a great quantity of wild beasts, as deer, stags,[2] and

[1] Cartier does not give us the Indian name for this herb; but it was without doubt *Nicotiana rustica*, a wild tobacco, inferior in quality to *Nicotiana tabacum*, grown farther south. Josselyn gives an elaborate account of it, and says that the Indians in New England called it *Pooke*. "The yellow henbane of Gerard's Herbal," says Professor Tuckerman. Wood describes the pipes in which it was used, and calls it "Colts-foote." *Vide* Two Voyages to New England, p. 61, and New England's Rarities, Josselyn, Boston, 1865, p. 103 *et seq.*; Wood's New England's Prospect, p. 69, and vocabulary *in loco*; Chronological History of Plants, Pickering, Boston, 1879, part ii, p. 742.

[2] "Dains and Cerfz," called "asquenoudo" and "aiounesta." Probably the *Cervus Virginianus*, or common red deer, and *Rangifer tarandus*, or caribou. Sagard calls it the "Asne Sauvage," or wild ass. Lahontan speaks of three kinds: the elk or moose, the caribou, and the "hart," or red deer. The wapiti, or *C. Canadensis*, probably existed in

bears,[1] of which they brought us but very little, because they are stingy of their victuals. They eat their flesh wholly raw, after having been dried by the smoke, and likewise their fish. By what we have seen and been able to learn of this said people it seems to me that they might be easy to tame in such fashion as one might desire. God by his divine compassion bestow upon them his regard. Amen.

HOW THE SAID PEOPLE FROM DAY TO DAY FETCHED US FISH AND WHATSOEVER THEY HAD TO OUR SHIPS, AND HOW BY THE ADVICE OF TAIGNOAGNY AND DOM AGAYA THE SAID PEOPLE QUIT COMING, AND HOW THERE WAS SOME DISCORD BETWEEN US AND THEM

And from day to day the said people came to our ships and fetched us store of eels and other fish in order to get our goods, for which were given them knives, awls, paternosters, and other trifling things, with which they were much contented; but we perceived that the two knaves whom we had brought said and gave them to understand that what we gave them was worth nothing, and that they should have

Canada in Cartier's time. *Cf.* Pickering (Chron. Hist. Plants, part ii, p. 875), who calls Cerfz *C. rangiferinus;* Histoire du Canada, Sagard, Paris, 1866, tome iii, p. 681; New England's Rarities, Josselyn, p. 55 *et seq.;* Nouveaux Voyages, Lahontan, à la Haye, 1703, p. 84 *et seq.;* Description de l'Amérique, Denys, Paris, 1672, p. 27.

[1] "Hours" (*Ursus Americanus*), or common black bear. Bears are spoken of by the early comers to America as fierce and numerous (New England's Prospect, p. 22). Wood says that they were "most fierce in Strawberry time," and Josselyn (Rarities, p. 48) that "they walk the Country twenty, thirty, forty in company, making a hideous noise with roaring, which you may hear a mile or two before they come so near to endanger the Traveller." *Cf.* Nouveaux Voyages, Lahontan, p. 86; Histoire du Canada, Sagard, p. 682.

as many hatchets as knives for that which they gave us, notwithstanding that the captain had made them many presents. And so they ceased not at all hours to importune the said captain, who was advised by a lord of the town of Hagonchenda[1] that he should beware of Donnacona and of the said two knaves, and that they were Agojuda,[2] which is to say, traitors. And he was also advised of it by some from the said Canada, and we as well perceived their malice, because they wished to take back the three children that the said Donnacona had given to the said captain, and, in fact, they made the largest of the girls flee from the ship, after the which had thus fled the captain had the others taken care of. And by the advice of the said Taignoagny and Dom Agaya they withdrew and abstained from coming with us four or five days, except some who came in great fear and dread.

HOW THE CAPTAIN, DOUBTING LEST THEY MEDITATED SOME TREACHERY, HAD THE FORT STRENGTHENED, AND HOW THEY CAME TO PARLEY WITH HIM, AND THE GIVING BACK OF THE GIRL WHO HAD FLED AWAY

SEEING the malice of them, doubting lest they might meditate some treason and come with a mass of folks upon us, the captain had the fort strengthened all about with a great fosse, wide and deep, with entry by drawbridge and reinforced with wooden pickets opposite the first. And for the time to come fifty men were ordered for the night watch in four watches, and the trumpet sounding at each change of the said watches, which was done according to the said order.

[1] "Hagonchenda." Lescarbot has Hagouchouda.
[2] "Agojuda." Agoinda, according to Bref Récit.

And the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Dom Agaya, being advised of the said reinforcement and of the good ward and watch that they made, were vexed at being in the bad grace of the captain, and sent at several times some of their folks, feigning that they were elsewhere, in order to see if any one would do them displeasure, of which no one took account and not any sign was made or shown them. And then came the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and others many times to speak to the said captain, a stream between them, asking the said captain if he was angry, and why he did not go to Canada to see them. And the said captain replied to them that they were but traitors and knaves, as had been reported to him and as he had perceived in many ways —as by not having kept their promise to go to Hochelaga, and by having taken back the girl that they had given him, and other ill turns that he named to them; but, for all this, that if they would be good people and would forget their evil intention he would pardon them, and that they might safely come on board to make good cheer as heretofore. At which words they thanked the said captain and promised him that they would restore to him the girl that had fled away within three days. And the fourth day of November, Dom Agaya, accompanied by six other men, came to our ships to tell the said captain that the lord Donnacona was gone into the country to search for the said girl, and that she would be brought to him the next day by him; and, moreover, said that Taignoagny was very sick, and that he prayed the captain to send him a little salt[1] and bread, which

[1] Salt. Taignoagny must have learned to use salt when in France, as

the said captain did, who sent him word that it was Jesus who was angry at him for the ill turns that he had thought to play. And the next day the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and many others came and brought the said girl again, presenting her to the said captain, who took no notice of them, and said that he wanted nothing of them, and that they might carry her back. To which they replied, making their excuse that they had not counseled her to go away, but that she had gone away because the cabin-boys had beaten her, as she had told them, and they prayed the captain once more to take her back, and they even brought her to the ship. After which things the captain ordered bread and wine brought and feasted them. Then they took leave of one another. And after that they have come and gone to our ships, as we to their abode, in as great love as before.

OF THE GREATNESS OF DEPTH OF THE SAID RIVER, AND IN GENERAL OF THE BEASTS, BIRDS, FISH, AND OTHER THINGS THAT WE HAVE SEEN THERE, AND THE SITUATION OF THE PLACES

THE said river begins beyond the Isle of the Assumption abreast of the high mountains of Honguedo and

Cartier tells us that the natives of Canada did not use it in their food. Schoolcraft and other writers also inform us that the use of salt was unknown to many savage tribes in North America. Catlin (North American Indians, London, 1841, vol. i, p. 124 *et seq.*), speaking of Western savages whom he visited, says that "none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs, and in many places the prairie may be seen for miles together covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow," and he continues that he had encamped with Indians near such places, but was "unable to prevail upon them to use salt in any quantity whatever."

of the seven islands, and the distance across is about thirty-five or forty leagues, and midway there is a depth of more than two hundred fathoms. The best, deepest, and safest to navigate is on the side toward the south, and toward the north, to wit, of the said seven islands, there are on one side and the other, about seven leagues distant from the said islands, two large streams,[1] which descend from the mountains of Saguenay, which make many very dangerous banks in the sea. At the entrance of the said rivers we saw a great number of whales and sea-horses.

Abreast of the said seven islands there is a little stream[2] which goes three or four leagues into the land over marshes, in which there is a marvelous number of all kinds of river birds. From the beginning of the said river as far as to Hochelaga it is three hundred leagues or more, and the beginning of it is in the stream which comes from the Saguenay, which issues from between high mountains and enters into the said river before it arrives in the province of Canada from the shore toward the north, and this stream is very deep, narrow, and very dangerous to navigate. After the said stream is the province of Canada, where there are many peoples in uninclosed villages. There are also in the limits of the said Canada within the said river many islands both large and small, and among others there is one of them which comprises more than ten leagues in length, which is full of fair trees and high, and also in it there are many vines.[3] There is a passage on both

[1] These are the rivers Moisie and St. Margaret.
[2] This little stream is just inside Sand Point.
[3] The Isle of Orléans, already mentioned.

sides of it; the best and surest is on the side toward the south. And on the side of this island toward the west is a forking of waters,[1] which is very good and convenient for to put ships, where there is a strait of the said river exceeding swift and deep, but it is only about a third of a league in width; abreast of which there is a double land of good height, wholly cultivated, as goodly land as ever it may be possible to see, and there is the town and dwelling-place of Donnacona and of our two men who had been taken the first voyage, which dwelling-place is named Stadaconé. And before arriving at the said place there are four peopled dwelling-places, to wit, Ajoaste, Starnatan, Tailla (which is on a mountain), and Scitadin,[2] then the said place of Stadaconé, under which high land, toward the north, is the river and harbor of St. Croix, where we stayed from the fifteenth day of September until the sixth day of May, 1536, at which place the ships remained dry, as was heretofore said. Beyond the said place is the abode of the

[1] In the original, "Vng affoug d'eaues," literally a forking of waters. The word *affoug* used by Cartier is *affourche* in modern French, and is used by mariners to denote a method of anchoring a ship by extending lines from opposite points. We have no English word to express this method better than cross-anchorage, which quite well represents the meaning. The place so designated by Cartier is a small triangular indentation in the shore, and is still used as a berth for vessels. I have preferred to translate Cartier's words literally rather than to use the word cross-anchorage, which probably Cartier had in mind.

[2] There are differences in the spelling of these place-names: Scitadin appearing in different versions Licadin, Stadin, Lidaten, and Satadin. The people of Ajoaste were the Andastes mentioned by subsequent writers, and spoke the Huron tongue. Andastoe, described as the Ajoaste of Cartier, is "a country beyond the Neuter nation, one hundred and fifty leagues S. E. ¼ S. from the Huron, in a straight line, or two hundred leagues by the trails." *Vide* Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1648, p. 56; Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, Sagard, p. 115. *Cf.* League of the Iroquois, Morgan, New York, 1904, vol. i, p. 9, vol. ii, p. 187.

people of Tequenonday[1] and of Achelaiy, the which Tequenonday is upon a mountain and the other in a level country. All the land on both sides of the said river as far as to Hochelaga and beyond is as goodly land and smooth as ever man looked upon. There are some mountains as far from the said river as one can see over the said lands, from which descend a number of streams which enter into the said river. All this said land is covered and full of woods of many sorts, and many vines, except about peopled places, which they have dug up in order to make their habitations and tillage. There is a great number of stags, deer, bears, and other beasts. We have seen there the tracks of a beast which has but two feet, which we have followed a long distance over the sand and mud, which has feet of the form and size of a palm and more. There are many hares, rabbits,[2] martens,[3] foxes,[4] wolves, beavers, squirrels,[5] rats, which are marvel-

[1] Tequenonday. These are the Tequenonquiaye of Champlain. Subsequently a mission was established among these people called the St. Joseph Mission. *Vide* Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, pp. 516, 906, and Histoire du Canada, Sagard, Paris, 1866, tome i, p. 200.

[2] Cartier and Champlain both make a distinction between the rabbit and the hare. The latter is the *Lepus Americanus* or Northern hare, and has longer ears than the rabbit (*L. sylvaticus*), besides being smaller and differently marked. *Cf.* Histoire du Canada, Sagard, tome iii, p. 679.

[3] "Martres." The *Mustela Americanus*, or pine-marten. Josselyn (Voyages, p. 70) says that they were innumerable. Their skins were exported in large quantities, and for a while were used as a currency between the Indians and Europeans, the value of various furs being fixed at a certain number of marten skins.

[4] "Regnardz." Probably Cartier alludes to the *Vulpes fulvus*, or common red fox, though there were several varieties in Canada at this time, but never numerous. Josselyn (Voyages, p. 66) speaks of the kind here mentioned as "a great yellow Fox," and says that there was "another grey, who will climb up into Trees," and that "the Black Fox is of much esteem."

[5] "Loueres, byeures, escureux." The wolf (*Lupus occidentalis*) was

ously big, and other wild things. They clothe themselves with the skins of these beasts, because they have no other clothing. There is a great number of birds, to wit, cranes, swans, bustards, wild geese, white and gray, widgeons, ducks,[1] blackbirds, thrushes, turtle-doves, wood-pigeons,[2] goldfinches, canaries, linnets, nightingales, swallows, and other birds, as in France. Moreover, as mention is heretofore made in the preceding chapters, the said river is more abundant in fish of all sorts than may ever have been seen or heard of in the memory of man; for from the beginning to the end you will find in it, according to the seasons, the most of all sorts and kinds of sea and fresh-water fish. You will find as far as to the said Canada a great many whales, sea-hogs,[3] sea-horses,[4] adhothuys, which

found everywhere in the vast forests of North America, and his fur was much prized by the savages. The colonists who followed Cartier found him a dangerous pest and mercilessly sought his extermination. Josselyn (Rarities, p. 49) speaks of two kinds and gives an interesting description of them. The skin of the beaver (*Castor Americanus*) was greedily sought and commanded a high price in Europe. Wood (New England's Prospect, p. 28) gives an entertaining account of his habits, and says that "the wisdom and understanding of this Beast will almost conclude him a reasonable creature." Of the squirrels he describes three kinds, viz., the gray (*Sciurus Carolinensis*), the red (*S. Hudsonius*), and the flying (*Sciuropterus volucella*), all of which were common to Canada.

[1] "Cannes, canardz." Literally, ducks and drakes. Just why Cartier uses these two words is not quite apparent. He must have seen more than one variety of ducks, and perhaps wished to indicate besides the common sea-duck the coot or scoter (*Fulica atra* and *Œdemia Americana*). Hakluyt has the word "ducks" only, and Stephens gives us "plovers and ducks" as the correct translation.

[2] "Ramiers." The common wild pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*), which the European colonists found in vast numbers when they first came to the New World, but which is now nearly extinct. *Vide* Nouveaux Voyages, Lahontan, tome ii, p. 47; Wood's New England's Prospect, p. 31; Two Voyages, Josselyn, p. 79.

[3] Cartier's "marcouyns," or sea-hogs, were the *Phocæna communis*.

[4] "Cheuaulx de mer." Literally, sea-horses; another name for the walrus (*Trichechus rosmarus*).

is a sort of fish which we have never seen nor heard spoken of; they are as big as sea-hogs, white as snow, and have a body and head like greyhounds;[1] the which keep between the sea and fresh water, which begins between the stream of Saguenay and Canada. Item, you will find in June, July, and August plenty of mackerel, mullets, bass, sartres,[2] great eels, and other fish. Their season having passed, you shall find there smelts as good as in the river Seine. Then in the spring there are plenty of lampreys and salmon. Beyond the said Canada there is abundance of pike, trout, carp, breams, and other fresh-water fish, and of all these sorts of fish do the said people make great fishing of each for their substance and victuals.

CHAPTER OF SOME INFORMATION WHICH THOSE OF THE COUNTRY HAVE GIVEN US SINCE HAVING RETURNED FROM HOCHELAGA

After having come back from Hochelaga with the pinnace and the boats, we have conversed, gone, and come with the people nearest our ships in kindness and friendship, save that at times we had some differences with a few bad fellows, for which the others were very sorry and angry. And we have

[1] *Vide antea*, p. 142, note 1.

[2] "Sartres." This word is obsolete. Godefroy (Dict. de l'ancienne Françoise du IX au XV Siècle, Paris, 1892) speaks of it as the sargor or sargue, and quotes Lescarbot (tome iii, p. 798, ed. 1612, Tross), who says that the sargor does not make war upon other fish, but feeds upon herbs like the sheep. The term sartre seems to have been applied in the fifteenth century to a large class of spiny fishes, now variously classified. What Cartier saw was probably the fish known in Europe as the bergall or bergylt, and in the United States as the blue-perch and chogset (*Ctenolabrus adspersus*). This fish feeds upon small snails and other minute forms of life which it seeks among weedy rocks and sea-grasses, which may account for Lescarbot's description.

understood by the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and others that the aforesaid stream is named the Saguenay, and goes as far as to the said Saguenay,[1] which is distant from the beginning more than a league of way toward the west-northwest, and that beyond, eight or nine days, it has no more than depth for boats, but that the right and good way and surest to the Saguenay is by the said river as far as to Hochelaga, to a stream which descends from the said Saguenay and enters into the said river, and that from there they are a moon going thither. And they have made us understand that the folks are clothed and attired like us, and with cloth, and that there are a great many towns and peoples, and good folks, and that they have a great quantity of gold and red copper, and that the whole of the land from the said first stream as far as to Hochelaga and Saguenay is an island, the which is encompassed and surrounded by the said river and streams; and that beyond the said Saguenay the said stream flows, entering into two or three great lakes of water very wide; then, that one finds a fresh-water sea of which there is no mention of having seen the end, as they have heard by those of the Saguenay;[2] for they have told us that they have not been there. Moreover, they have given us to understand that at the place where we had left our boats when we went to Hochelaga there is a stream that goes toward the

[1] That is, as far as to the place where the country of Saguenay begins.

[2] Evidently Cartier did not get a clear idea from the natives relative to the geography of the region; indeed, they probably did not have a clear idea of it themselves: but the great fresh-water sea described was probably Lake Ontario. Doubtless he misunderstood them with respect to the clothing of the people, which is not surprising.

southwest, where, likewise, it takes a moon to go from St. Croix with boats as far as to a land where there is never ice nor snow; but that in this said land there are continual wars one with another, and that in this land there are oranges, almonds, nuts, plums, and other sorts of fruits, and in great abundance. And it was told us that the men and residents of the land were clad and arrayed with skins as themselves. After having asked them if there was any gold and copper there, they answered us no. I esteem the said place to be, by their saying, toward Florida by what they showed us by their signs and tokens.[1]

OF A GREAT SICKNESS AND DEATH WHICH CAME TO THE PEOPLE OF STADACONÉ, FROM WHICH, FOR HAVING CONSORTED WITH THEM, WE HAVE BEEN CARRIED OFF BY IT, INSOMUCH THAT THERE ARE DEAD OF OUR MEN EVEN TO THE NUMBER OF TWENTY-FIVE

In the month of December we were advised that the mortality had fallen upon the people of Stadaconé to such a degree that there were dead more than fifty of them by their own confession. On account of which we forbade them our fort and from coming about us; but, notwithstanding having driven them away, the sickness began among us in a marvelous and most unknown manner, for some lost substance, and their legs became large and swollen,

[1] In spite of continual warfare among the different savage tribes, there were many ways by which they could obtain a knowledge of the inhabitants and products of distant regions. Cartier was evidently right in his conjecture that the country described was "toward Florida." It is quite possible that the natives of Canada had intercourse at times, either directly or indirectly, by the great waterways toward the southwest, with the tribes in that direction.

and their sinews shrank and grew black as coal, and with some all besprinkled with spots of blood almost purple. Then the said sickness mounted to the hips, thighs, and shoulders, to the arms and to the neck, and the mouth withal became so infected and the gums so putrid that all the flesh fell away from them, even to the roots of the teeth, which almost all fell out.[1] And to such a degree did the said sickness spread in our three ships that, by the middle of February, of a hundred and ten men that we were, there were not ten sound, so that one could not help the other, which was a thing piteous to behold, considering the place where we were; for the folks of the country came every day before our fort, who saw but few people up, and already there were eight dead there and more than fifty in whom one could not expect more life.

Our captain, seeing the misery and sickness so active, had everybody put to prayers and supplications, and had an image in remembrance of the Virgin Mary placed against a tree about a bow-shot distant from our fort across the snow and ice, and ordered that the Sunday ensuing they should say mass at the said place, and that all those who could walk, the sound as well as the sick, should go in procession, singing the seven psalms of David, with the Litany, while praying the said Virgin that it might please her to pray her dear Child that he would have pity upon us. The said mass having been said and chanted

[1] There can be no doubt as to the nature of this disease, as Cartier accurately describes the scurvy (*scorbuticus*), then but little understood. Lescarbot says that the disease was known to Hippocrates, and cites the description of Olaus Magnus, who denominates it *sorbet* — literally, bad habit; an apt title, since it is caused by careless exposure to cold, dampness, and impure air and water, as well as by long-continued use of salt food. *Vide* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot, tome ii, p. 453

before the said image, the captain bound himself a pilgrim to Our Lady who causes herself to be prayed to at Roquemado,[1] promising to go thither if God should give him grace to return into France. This day Philippe Rougemont, native of Amboise, passed away,[2] at the age of about twenty years.

And because the sickness was unknown, the captain had the body opened to see if one might get some knowledge from it to preserve, if it were possible, the rest. And it was found that the heart was white and withered, surrounded with more than a pot of water red as a date; the liver fair, but the lungs wholly black and mortified; and all his blood was shrunken above his heart; for when he was opened there issued from above the heart a great abundance of infected blood. Likewise the spleen toward the spine was about two fingers' breadth a little broached as if it had been rubbed on a rough stone. After this was seen he was opened and one thigh cut into, the which was very black outside, but within the flesh was found fair enough. This done, he was buried as well as one could. May God by his holy grace forgive his soul and all trespasses! Amen.

And from day to day the said sickness continued in such manner that many a time it was so that in all the three ships there were not three sound men, so that in one of the said ships there was not a man who was able to go below deck to draw water any more for himself than for the others; and presently there were already many of them dead, whom it behooved

[1] Roquemado. Lescarbot says Roquemadou, and explains, "pour mieux dire à Roque amadou c'est à dire des amans. C'est vn bourg en Querci, ou il y va force pelerins." It is the modern Rocamadour in the department of Lot, and is a market-town of about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

[2] "Trespassa" is the word used by Cartier.

us, through weakness, to put under the snow, for it was not possible for us to open the earth for them, which was frozen, we were so feeble and had so little strength. And so were we in a marvelous fear of the people of the country, that they might perceive our misery and weakness; and in order to cover up the said sickness, when they came near our fort, our captain, whom God has always preserved, would come forth straight before them with two or three men, both sound and sick, whom he had come out after him, and when he saw them outside the palisade he made a pretense of wishing to beat them, crying and throwing sticks after them, sending them aboard, showing by signs to the said savages that he made all his folks work in the ships, some to calk, others to make bread and do other work, and that it was not good that they should come to idle outside, which they believed. And the said captain made the said sick men beat and make a noise within the ships with sticks and stones, feigning to calk. And at the time we were so smitten with the said sickness that we had almost lost hope of ever returning into France, if God by his infinite goodness and mercy had not looked upon us in pity and given knowledge of a remedy against all sicknesses, the most excellent that was ever seen or found upon the earth, as mention shall be made in this chapter.

THE NUMBER OF DAYS THAT WE WERE IN THE HARBOR OF ST. CROIX AND FROZEN IN THE ICE AND SNOW, AND THE NUMBER OF THE MEN DECEASED AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE SICKNESS UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF MARCH

From the middle of November until the fifteenth day of April we were continually locked up in the

ice, the which was more than two fathoms in thickness, and over the land there was the height of four feet of snow and more, so that it was higher than the sides of our ships, the which lasted until the said time, insomuch that our drinkables were all frozen within the casks. And throughout our said ships, as well as above, the ice upon the sides was four inches in thickness, and all the said river was frozen, inasmuch as the fresh water continued as far as above Hochelaga, at which time there deceased among us even to the number of twenty-five persons of the chiefest and best companions that we had, who died by the aforesaid sickness. And for a while there were more than fifty of them in whom one could not expect more life, and all the rest sick, so that not any of them were exempt except three or four. But God, by his holy grace, regarded us in pity, and sent us the knowledge and the remedy for our cure and health in the sort and manner which shall be related in this chapter.

HOW BY THE GRACE OF GOD WE HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE KIND OF A TREE BY THE WHICH ALL THE SICK WERE CURED AND RECOVERED HEALTH AFTER HAVING USED OF IT, AND THE MANNER OF USING IT

One day our captain, seeing the sickness so violent and his people so smitten with it, being gone outside of the fort and walking by himself upon the ice, beheld a band of folks coming from Stadaconé, in the which was Dom Agaya, whom the captain had seen, only ten or twelve days before, very sick with the sickness which his people had; for he had one of his

legs as big at the knee as a child of two years, and all the sinews of it shrunken, his teeth lost and spoiled, and his gums putrid and corrupted.

The captain, seeing the said Dom Agaya sound and well, was glad, hoping to know from him how he was cured, so as to give aid and succor to his men. When they were arrived near the fort, the captain asked him how he was cured of his sickness; the which Dom Agaya responded that he was cured by the juice and refuse of the leaves of a tree, and that it was the only remedy for the sickness. The said captain asked him if there was not some of it thereabouts, and if he would show him some of it in order to cure his servant, who had taken the said sickness in the said Canada while he abode with Donnacona —not wanting to declare to him the number of the crew who were sick. Then the said Dom Agaya sent two women with the captain to fetch some of it, who brought nine or ten branches of it, and showed us how one should strip the bark and the leaves from the said tree and put the whole to boil in water, then to drink of it every other day and put the refuse on the swollen and diseased legs, and that the said tree would cure all the sick. They call the said tree in their tongue *amedda*.[1]

Soon after the captain had some of the beverage made in order to have the sick drink of it, of whom

[1] *Amedda.* Lescarbot says "annedda," and Hakluyt "ameda" and "hanneda." Some writers suppose this to have been the white spruce (*Picea alba*), and others the white pine (*Pinus strobus*); but the *P. alba* is a better anti-scorbutic. Cartier's relation of the rapid recovery of his men overstrains our credulity, and, as though he foresaw this, he throws in the convenient suggestion, with which Pope sympathizes, that it was a veritable miracle. *Cf.* Jacques Cartier, Pope, p. 876; Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot, tome ii, p. 451 *et seq.*

there were none of them who might wish to try the said beverage except one or two who put themselves to the venture of trying it. Shortly after they had drunken of it they received benefit, which was found to be a real and evident miracle; for all the sick, of whatever they were infected, after having drunken of it two or three times, recovered health and vigor, so that such as there were of the said crew who had the syphilis five or six years previous to the said sickness were by this medicine completely cured. After this was seen and understood there was such strife for the said medicine that they would have killed themselves to see who first should have it; so that a tree as big and as tall as any tree I ever saw was used up in less than eight days, which had such effect that if all the doctors of Lorraine and Montpellier had been there, with all the drugs of Alexandria, they could not have done so much in a year as the said tree did in six days; for it profited us so much that all those who would use it recovered health and soundness, thanks to God.

HOW THE LORD DONNACONA, ACCOMPANIED BY TAIGNOAGNY AND MANY OTHERS, DEPARTED FROM STADACONÉ, FEIGNING TO GO TO HUNT STAGS AND DEER, THE WHICH WERE TWO MONTHS WITHOUT RETURNING, AND AT THEIR RETURN BROUGHT A GREAT NUMBER OF FOLKS WHOM WE HAD NOT BEEN ACCUSTOMED TO SEE

During the time that the sickness and mortality reigned in our ships, Donnacona, Taignoagny, and many others went away, feigning to go to take stags and deer, which they call in their language *aiounesta* and *asquenoudo*, for the snows were great and the ice

was already broken up in the channel of the river, so that they were able to navigate by it. And we were told by Dom Agaya and others that they would be gone only about fifteen days, which we believed; but they were two months without returning. On account of which we had suspicion that they might have gone to gather a great number of people to do us displeasure because they saw us so enfeebled. Notwithstanding, we had put so good order to our affairs that if all the strength of their land had been there they could have done nothing but look at us. And during the time that they were abroad many folks came every day to our ships, as they had been accustomed, bringing us the fresh meat of stags and deer, fresh fish of all sorts, which they sold us very dear, or else they would have better liked to carry it away again, because they had need of provisions at the time, by reason of the winter which had been long.

HOW DONNACONA RETURNED TO STADACONÉ WITH A GREAT NUMBER OF FOLKS, AND THE SAID DONNACONA FEIGNED SICKNESS FOR FEAR OF COMING TO SEE THE CAPTAIN, THINKING THAT THE SAID CAPTAIN WOULD GO TO SEE HIM

The twenty-first day of the said month of April Dom Agaya came to the shore accompanied by many men, who were good and strong and whom we had not been accustomed to see, who told us that the lord Donnacona would come the next day, and that he would bring a store of stag's meat and other venison. And the next day, the twenty-second day of the said month, came the said Donnacona, who brought in his company a great number of folks to the said Stada-

coné, for what occasion nor why we knew not; but by a proverb they say he who guards himself from all escapes from some, which to us was of necessity, for we were so enfeebled, as much by sickness as by dead men, that it was necessary to leave one of our ships at the said place of St. Croix. The captain being advised of their coming, and that they brought so many men, and also that Dom Agaya came to speak to the said captain without being willing to pass the river that was between us and the said Stadaconé, but made objection to passing, which he was not accustomed to do, by reason of which we had suspicion of treason. Seeing this, the captain sent his servant, named Charles Guyot, who was loved more than any other by the people of the whole country, in order to see who was at the said place and what they were doing; the said servant feigning to be gone to see the said Donnacona because he had dwelt a long while with him, who carried him some presents. And when the said Donnacona was advised of his coming he feigned sickness and went to bed, saying to the said servant that he was very sick. Afterward the said Charles went into the house of Taignoagny to see him, where he found the houses everywhere so full of folks, which he was not accustomed to see, that he could not move about. And the said Taignoagny would not permit that the said servant should go into the other houses, but escorted him half-way toward the ships, and said to him that if the said captain would do him the favor of taking a lord of the country called Agohanna, who had done him a displeasure, and carry him into France, he would be obliged to him, and would do all that the said captain might wish, and

that he might return the next day to tell him the answer.

When the captain was advised of the great number of people who were at the said place, he knew not to what end, he resolved to play them a trick and take their lord Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and some of the principal ones, as he had fully determined to bring the said lord Donnacona into France, in order to relate and describe to the king what he had seen in the Western country of the wonders of the world, for he had testified to us of having been in the land of the Saguenay, in which there is unlimited gold, rubies, and other riches, and there are men there as white as in France and appareled in woolen cloth. Further, he told of having seen other countries, where the men do not eat and have no fundament, and do not digest, but only make *eau par la verge*. Moreover, he told of having been in another country of the Picquenyans, and other countries where the people have only one leg, and other marvels lengthy to recount. The said lord is an ancient man, and never ceases going through countries after knowledge, as well by rivers and streams as by land.[1]

After that the said servant had finished his message, and told the captain what the said Taignoagny had ordered him, the said captain sent his servant the next day to say to the said Taignoagny that he should come to see him and tell him what he might, and that he would give him good cheer and part of

[1] This savage, who seems to have been an extensive traveler, was evidently describing the Lake Superior country, to which the river Saguenay led, though not so directly as the Ottawa. His descriptions of strange people were only such as have frequently adorned travelers' tales, and no whit more remarkable.

his wish. The said Taignoagny sent him word that he would come the next day, and that he would bring the lord Donnacona and him who had done him displeasure; which he did not do, but was two days without coming, during which time nobody came to the ships from the said Stadaconé, as had been the custom, but fled from us as if we had wished to kill them; whereupon we perceived their knavery. And because they were advised that those of Scitadin went and came among us, and that we had abandoned to them the bottom of the ship that we left,[1] in order to have the old nails, they came from the said Stadaconé the third day ensuing to the other side of the river, and the greatest part of them passed over in little boats without difficulty; but the said Donnacona would not pass over, and Taignoagny and Dom Agaya were more than one hour parleying together before they would pass over. But in the end they passed over and came to speak to the said captain, and the said Taignoagny prayed the said captain to be willing to take and bring the said man into France, which the said captain refused, saying that the king, his master, had forbidden him from bringing either man or woman into France, but rather two or three little boys to learn the language, but that he would

[1] The remains of this ship, the *Petite Hermine*, were discovered in 1843, in the river St. Charles, at the mouth of the rivulet known as the Lairet. These precious relics were found buried under five feet of mud, and were divided into two portions, one of which was placed in the museum of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and destroyed by fire in 1854. The other portion was sent to the museum at St. Malo, where it now remains. For a particular account *vide* Le Canadien of August 25, and the Quebec Gazette of August 30, 1843; Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society for 1862; and Picturesque Quebec, Le Moine, Montreal, 1862, pp. 484–487.

willingly carry him into the New Land, and that he would put him on an island. These words the said captain said to assure them, and to this end to bring the lord Donnacona, who had remained on the other side of the water, with which words the said Taignoagny was very happy, expecting never to return into France, and he promised the said captain to come back the next day, which was Holy-rood Day, and bring the said lord Donnacona and all the people of the said place.

HOW UPON HOLY-ROOD DAY THE CAPTAIN HAD A CROSS PLANTED WITHIN OUR FORT, AND HOW THE LORD DONNACONA, TAIGNOAGNY, DOM AGAYA, AND THEIR BAND CAME, AND OF THE TAKING OF THE SAID LORD

The third day of May, the day and festival of Holy-rood, for the solemnity and festival the captain had planted a fair cross of the height of about thirty-five feet, under the cross-bar of which there was an escutcheon in wood with the arms of France. And on it was written in Attic letters: "Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum rex regnat." And this day about noontime came a number of folks from Stadaconé, men, women, and children as well, who told us that their lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and others, who were in his company, were coming, for which we were glad, hoping to seize them, who came about two hours after midday. And when they had arrived before our ships our captain only went to salute the said lord Donnacona, who likewise gave him a great welcome, but always had an eye toward the woods and a marvelous fear. Soon

after Taignoagny arrived, who told the said lord Donnacona that he should not enter into the fort, whereupon fire was brought by one of their folks out of the fort and lighted by the said lord. Our captain prayed him to come and eat and drink in the ships, as was the custom; and he likewise prayed the said Taignoagny to do so, who said that they would very soon come there, which they did, and entered into the said fort. But our captain had previously been advised by Dom Agaya that the said Taignoagny had spoken ill and had told the said lord Donnacona that he should not enter into the ships. Our said captain, seeing this, came outside the picket where he was, and saw that the women fled away by the advice of the said Taignoagny, and that only the men remained, who were in great number; and thereupon the said captain ordered his men to take the said lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya, and two others of the principal ones whom he pointed out, since they made the others withdraw. Soon after the said lord entered into the fort with the said captain, but all of a sudden the said Taignoagny came to make him come out.

Our captain, seeing that there was no other method, began to cry that they should take them, at which cry the men of the said captain sallied forth, who took the said lord and those whom he had designed to take. The said Canadians, seeing the said captain, began to flee and run like sheep before the wolf, some across the river, others among the woods, each seeking his advantage. The said capture of the above being effected, and all the others having withdrawn,

the said lord and his companions were put in safe-keeping.[1]

HOW THE CANADIANS CAME IN THE NIGHT BEFORE OUR SHIPS TO SEEK THEIR FOLKS, DURING WHICH THEY HOWLED AND CRIED LIKE WOLVES, AND THE PARLEYING AND CONCLUSION WHICH THEY MADE THE NEXT DAY, AND OF THE PRESENTS THAT THEY MADE TO OUR CAPTAIN

THE night being come, a great number of the people of the said Donnacona came opposite our ships, the river between us, howling and screeching like wolves all the night, crying without ceasing: Agohanna thinking to speak to him, which the captain would not permit at the time, nor in the morning until about midday, wherefore they made us signs that we had killed and hung them. And about the hour of noon they returned afresh in as great number as we had seen on the voyage at one view, keeping themselves hidden in the woods, save a few of them, who cried and called the said Donnacona with a high voice. Then the captain commanded to make the said Donnacona mount aloft to speak to them. And the said captain told him that he should have good cheer, and that after having spoken to the King of France his master, and recounted what he had seen at the Saguenay and in other places, he should

[1] The treachery practised upon these Indians we cannot adjust to present standards of equity. We must infer that he considered his intention to treat them well, and in a short time return them to their country transformed into Christians capable of benefiting their countrymen, a sufficient excuse for his conduct.

return within ten or twelve moons, and that the king would make him a great present; whereat the said Donnacona was very glad, and in speaking to the others told it to them, who made three marvelous cries in token of joy. And forthwith the said people and Donnacona had between them many harangues and discourses, which it is not possible to describe, for want of understanding. Our captain told the said Donnacona that they might safely come from the other side in order to talk better together, and that he would assure them, which the said Donnacona told them; and upon this a boatful of the chief people came aboard the said ships, who began afresh to make many discourses, giving praise to the said captain; and they made him a present of four-and-twenty collars of esnogny, which is the greatest treasure that they have in this world, for they esteem it more than gold and silver.

After they had parleyed enough and chatted one with another, and seen that there was no hope for the said Donnacona to escape, and that it was necessary that he should go into France, he commanded that they should fetch him provisions for to eat at sea. Our captain made a present to the said Donnacona of two frying-pans of brass, and of eight hatchets and other trifling articles, such as knives and paternosters, with which he was very happy in appearance, and sent them to his wives and children. Likewise the said captain gave to those who had come to speak with the said Donnacona some small presents, for which they greatly thanked the said captain. At length they withdrew and went away to their lodgings.

HOW THE NEXT DAY, THE FIFTH DAY OF MAY, THE SAID PEOPLE RETURNED TO SPEAK TO THEIR LORD, AND HOW THERE CAME FOUR WOMEN ABOARD TO BRING HIM VICTUALS

THE next day, the fifth day of the said month, in the early morning, the said people returned in great number to speak to their lord, and sent a boat—which they call in their language *casnouy*—in which there were four women, without having any men in it, for doubt that they had that we might retain them, who brought store of victuals, to wit, great millet (which is the corn on which they live), flesh, fish, and other provisions after their manner, to whom, after being come to the ships, the captain gave a good reception, and Donnacona prayed the said captain that he should tell the said women that within twelve moons he would return, and that he would bring the said Donnacona to Canada. This he said with the object of contenting them, which the said captain did, for which the said women made a great display of joy, showing by signs and words to the said captain that should he return and bring back the said Donnacona, they would make him many presents. Then each one of them gave to the said captain a collar of esnogny, whereupon they went away to the other side of the river, where all the people of the said Stadaconé were, and withdrew, taking leave of the said lord.

Saturday, the sixth day of the said month, we got under way from the harbor of St. Croix, and came to below the Isle of Orléans, about twelve leagues from St. Croix, and on Sunday reached the Isle of Filberts,

where we were until Monday, the sixteenth[1] of the said month, leaving the waters to abate, the which were too swift and dangerous for to fall down the said river, and awaiting good weather—during which time came many boats of the peoples, subjects to the said Donnacona, who came from the river of Saguenay, and when they were informed by Dom Agaya of the taking of them and the style and manner of how Donnacona was being carried into France, they were much astonished, but did not cease to come alongside the ships to speak to the said Donnacona, who told them that within twelve moons he would return, and that he had good treatment with the captain and crew; for which they all with one voice thanked the said captain, and gave to the said Donnacona three bundles of skins of beavers and sea-wolves, with a great knife of red copper which came from the said Saguenay, and other things. Likewise they gave to the said captain a collar of esnogny, for which presents the said captain caused to be given them ten or twelve hatchets, with which they were greatly content and happy, and thanked the said captain for them, then went back. The passage is safer and better between the north and the said island than toward the south, because of the great number of shoals, banks, and rocks which are there, and also because there is little depth.

The next day,[2] the sixteenth day of the said month of May, we got under way from the said Isle of Filberts, and came to lie at an island which is about fifteen leagues from the said Isle of Filberts, which is in size about five leagues long. And we passed that day there in order to spend the night, hoping the next day to pass

[1] So in all the manuscripts, but should be the 15th. Ramusio and Lescarbot omit the day of the week.

[2] That is, the 16th, which was Tuesday.

the danger of the Saguenay, which was great. In the evening we went to the said island, where we found a great number of hares, of the which we got a quantity, and therefore we named it the Isle of Hares.[1] And that night the wind came contrary and in such fury that it behooved us to put back to the Isle of Filberts, from which we had set out, because there was no other passage between the said islands; and there we were until the twenty-first[2] day of the said month, when the wind came good and we made so much of our time that we passed as far as to Honguedo, between the Isle of the Assumption and the said Honguedo, which passage had not heretofore been discovered. And we made her go as far as athwart Cape Pratto, which is the beginning of the Bay Chaleur. And because the wind was good and convenient we stood on day and night, and the next day fetched the waist of the Isle of Brion, which we wished to do for to shorten our way. And the two lands are bearing southeast and northwest a quarter east and west, and it is fifty leagues between them. The said island is in forty-seven degrees and a half of latitude.

Thursday, the twenty-sixth[3] day of the said month, the day and feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we crossed over to a land and ridge of low sands which lie to the southwest of the said Isle of Brion about eight leagues, above which there are large lands full of trees, and there is an inclosed sea to which we did not see any entrance nor opening for to enter into the sea.[4] And Friday, the 27th, because the wind changed toward the coast, we returned to the said Isle

[1] "L'ysle es Lievres." Hare Island, according to Hakluyt.
[2] Lescarbot omits the date altogether.
[3] A perpetuation of former error, Thursday being 25th, Friday 26th.
[4] This was Grindstone Island, one of the Magdalens.

of Brion, where we were until the 1st of June, and went to fetch a high land, which lay to the southeast of the said island, which appeared to us to be an island,[1] and ranged it about twenty-two leagues and a half, making which way we had knowledge of three other islands,[2] which lay toward the sands, and the said sands appeared likewise to be an island, and the said land, which is high and level land, to be the mainland falling off to the northwest. After the which things were known we returned to the cape of the said land, which forms itself into two or three capes wondrous high, and a great depth of water,[3] and the tide so swift that more is not possible.

We named this cape Cape Lorraine,[4] which is forty-six degrees and a half, to the south of which cape there is a low land and seemingly some river entrance, but there is no harbor of worth. Above which lands toward the south lies another headland, which we named Cape St. Paul,[5] which is in forty-seven degrees and a quarter.

[1] This was the high land east of Grosse Isle.

[2] These islands were Coffin, Alright, and Entry.

[3] This is the East Cape of the Magdalens, which has, when approached from a certain direction, the appearance of being three islands; hence they are frequently called by fishermen the Junks of Pork. Sailing round the cape toward the southeast, Coffin, Alright, and Entry Island "toward the sands" are plainly visible.

[4] There is much confusion in Cartier's account after leaving the Isle of Brion. Bourinot and other writers suppose his "Cap de Lorraine" to have been North Cape on the Cape Breton shore; but this view cannot be reconciled with the account. Hakluyt gives the latitude as forty-seven and one half degrees, which is more nearly correct if Cartier's "Cap de Lorraine" was Cape Ray; but it was more likely Cheticamp, and the latitude Cartier gives, namely, forty-six and one half degrees, is evidence of this. It is probable that he was a few miles east-northeast of the northern extremity of Cape Breton Island when he took his latitude.

[5] The northern extremity of Cape Breton Island. Cartier probably applied the name "Cap de Sainct Paul" to the headland comprising Cape

Sunday, the fourth day of the said month, the day and feast of Pentecost, we had knowledge of the coast of the east-southeast of New Land, which was about twenty-two leagues from the said cape, and because the wind was contrary we made for a harbor, which we named the harbor of St. Esprit,[1] until Tuesday, when we got under way from the said harbor and ranged the said coast as far as to the Isles St. Pierre,[2] making which way, we found along the said coast many very dangerous islands[3] and shoals, being in the course east-southeast and west-northwest at two, three, and four leagues into the sea. We were at the said Isles St. Pierre, where we found a number of ships both of France and Brittany, from the day of St. Barnabas, the eleventh day of June, until the sixteenth day of the said month, when we got under way from the said Isles St. Pierre and came to Cape Race and entered into a harbor named Rougnouse,[4] where we took wood and water for to cross the sea, and left there one of our boats. And we got under way from the said harbor Monday, the nineteenth day of the said month, and with good weather navigated in such sort by sea

St. Lawrence and North Cape. There is an evident error in saying "Above which lands toward the *south*" instead of toward the *north*.

[1] "Hable de Sainct Esperit." Probably Le Poil Bay, possibly Conoir Bay. An old mariner thoroughly acquainted with the coast thinks that a stranger would be likely to seek shelter in the latter bay. Le Poil is, however, much the most conspicuous bay on this part of the Newfoundland coast. That one sailing in the vicinity would most naturally seek it for safety is the opinion of Mr. Hyndman, late of the Royal Navy, who some years since made a survey of Le Poil for the British Admiralty.

[2] This is the present St. Pierre, which, with the adjoining island of Miquelon, is still occupied by a colony loyal to France.

[3] The Rameas and Penguin islands.

[4] "Rougnouse," a name found variously spelled on maps since Cartier's time. It is now known as Renews, a corruption of the name used by him.

that the sixth day of July, 1536, we reached the harbor of St. Malo, by the grace of the Creator, whom we pray, making an end of our navigation, to grant us his grace, and Paradise at the end. Amen.

VOCABULARY OF THE NATIVES OF CANADA

The following is the language of the countries and kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada, otherwise called by us New France.

First their numbers in counting.

1 = Segada.	6 = Indaic.
2 = Tigneny.	7 = Ayaga.
3 = Asche.	8 = Addegue.
4 = Honnacon.	9 = Madellon.
5 = Ouiscon.	10 = Assen.

The following are names of parts of the human body.

The head,	Aggoursy.
The forehead,	Hetguenyascon.
The eyes,	Hegata.

The ears,	Ahontascon.
The mouth,	Escahe.
The teeth,	Esgougay.
The tongue,	Osuache.
The throat,	Agouhon.
The chin,	Hebehin.
The face,	Hogouascon.
The hair,	Aganiscon.
The arms,	Aiayascon.
The armpits,	Hetnanda.
The ribs,	Aissonne.
The stomach,	Aggoascon.
The belly,	Eschehenda.
The thighs,	Hetnegradascon.
The knees,	Agochinegodascon.
The legs,	Agouguenehonde.
The feet,	Ohchidascon.
The hands,	Agnascon.
The fingers,	Agenoga.
The nails,	Agedascon.
The genital organ (man),	Agnascon.
The genital organ (woman),	Chastaigne.
The beard,	Ostone.
The beard of the genital organ,	Aggousson.
The testicles,	Xista.

A man,	Aguehan.
A woman,	Agruette.
A boy,	Addegesta.
A girl,	Agnyaquesta.
A little child,	Exiasta.
A dress,	Cabata.
A waistcoat,	Coja.
Socks,	Henondoua.
Shoes,	Atha.
Shirts,	Anigoua.
A hat,	Castona.

They call their corn,	Ozify.
Bread,	Carraconny.
Water,	Ame.
Flesh,	Quahoachon.
Fruits of bushes,	Aesquesgoua.
Little nuts,	Undegonaha.
Fish,	Queion.
Plums,	Honnesta.
Figs,	Absconda.
Grapes,	Ozaha.
Nuts,	Quaheya.
A hen,	Sahomgahoa.
A lamprey,	Zysto.
A salmon,	Ondaccon.
A whale,	Ainnehonne.
An eel,	Esgneny.
A squirrel,	Cajognen.
A snake,	Undeguezy.
Turtles,	Heuleuzonne.
Olives,	Houocohonda.
They call wood,	Conda.
Leaves of trees,	Honga.
They call their God,	Cudouagny.
Give me a drink,	Quazahoa quea.
Give me breakfast,	Quazahoa quascahoa.
Give me supper,	Quazahoa quat frean.
Let us go to bed,	Quasigno agnydahoa.
Good day,	Aigay.
Let us play,	Quasigno caudy.
Come and speak to me,	Asigni quadadia.
Look at me,	Quatgathoma.
Be quiet,	Aista.
Let us go to the boat,	Quasigno casnouy.
That is worthless,	Sahanty quahouquey.
Give me a knife,	Quazahoa aggoheda.
A hatchet,	Addogne.
A bow,	Ahena.
An arrow,	Quahetan.

Some feathers,	Heccon.
Let us go to the chase,	Quasigno donassent.
A stag,	Aiounesta.
A deer,	Asquenoudo.
A hare,	Sourhamda.
A dog,	Aggayo.
Geese,	Sadeguenda.
The road,	Adde.
They call the seed of cucumbers and melons,	Casconda.
When they wish to say to-morrow they say,	Achide.
When they wish to say good-by to any one they say,	Hedgaguehanyga.
To sing,	Theguehoaca.
To laugh,	Cahezem.
To cry,	Agguenda.
The sky,	Quenhia.
The earth,	Damga.
The sun,	Ysnay.
The moon,	Assomaha.
The stars,	Siguehoham.
The wind,	Cahena.
The sea,	Agongasy.
Fresh water,	Ame.
The waves of the sea,	Coda.
An island,	Cohena.
A mountain,	Ogacha.
Ice,	Honnesca.
Snow,	Canisa.
Cold,	Athau.
Warm,	Odayan.
My friend,	Agniase.
To run,	Thodoathady.
Fire,	Asista.
Smoke,	Quea.
The smoke hurts my eyes,	Quea quanoague eguta.

Such a one is dead,	Camedane.
A house,	Quanocha.
They call their beans,	Sahe.
They call a town,	Canada.
When they wish to speak ill of some one they call him,	Agojuda, which is to say "wicked" and "traitor."
Villain,	Aggousay.
They call the herb of which they use in their pipes during the winter,	Quiecta.
There are great rats in the said country which are as large as rabbits, the which smell of musk, and they call them,	Houtthe.
When a person is so old that he cannot walk they call him,	Agoudesta.
My father,	Addathy.
My mother,	Adanahoe.
My brother,	Addagnin.
My sister,	Addasene.
Great,	Estahezy.
Small,	Estahagza.
Big,	Houganda.
Hail,	Houcquehin.
When they wish to make an exclamation they say,	Aggondec.
My cousin,	Hegay.
My nephew,	Ynadin.
My wife,	Ysaa.
My child,	Aguo.

Note that their lord named Donnacona has been to a land where they are, a moon going with their boats

from Canada to the said land, in which there grows much cinnamon and cloves.[1]

They call the said cloves,	Adhotathny.
Cinnamon,	Canonotha.[2]

The following additional words are to be found in MS. No. 5644.

To dance,	Thegoaca.
Great porpoise,	Adguyensce.
Common grass,	Hanneda.
To walk,	Quedaque.
Whence came you?	Canada undagneny.
Give this to some one,	Taquenonde.
Keep this for me,	Sodanadega mesganiy.
Where is he gone?	Quanehoesnon.
Shut the door,	Asnodyan.
Go fetch some water,	Sagethemme.
Go fetch some one,	Achedascone.
The evening,	Angau.
The night,	Auhena.
The day,	Adeyahon.

[1] Donnacona was authority for this statement and claimed to know the land of spices. It is possible that the savage, noticing the eagerness with which the Frenchman inquired about the pungent bark and dried bud which he displayed, amiably assented to an untruth; probably, however, he misunderstood the nature of the things sought, and being acquainted with the aromatic bark of the *Sassafras officinale*, also precious to the European, and having seeds somewhat similar in appearance to the clove, he unintentionally misled him.

[2] "Cannotha" in the Relation Originale.

THIRD VOYAGE

1540

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY MADE BY CAPTAIN JACQUES CARTIER, 1540,

UNTO THE COUNTRIES OF CANADA, HOCHELAGA, AND SAGUENAY

From Hakluyt

KING FRANCIS I, having heard the report of Captain Cartier, his pilot-general, in his two former voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which he had found and seen in the Western parts discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also seen and talked with the people which the said Cartier had brought out of those countries, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others, which after that they had been a long time in France and Brittany were baptized at their own desire and request, and died in the said country of Brittany.[1] And albeit his Majesty was advertised by the said Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were ten in number), saving one little girl about ten years old,[2] yet he resolved to send the said Cartier, his pilot, thither again, with John Francis de la Rocque,

[1] "Britain" in the original version.

[2] This was without doubt the daughter of the chief of Achelaiy. *Antea*, p. 156, note 2. The Indian village, it is believed, was situated at Point Platon in the parish of Lotbinière.

Knight, Lord of Roberval,[1] whom he appointed his lieutenant and governor in the countries of Canada and Hochelaga, and the said Cartier captain-general and leader of the ships, that they might discover more than was done before in the former voyages, and attain, if it were possible, unto the knowledge of the country of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the king that there were great riches and very good countries. And the king caused a certain sum of money to be delivered to furnish out the said voyage with five ships, which thing was performed by the said Monsieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rig the said five ships at St. Malo in Brittany, where the two former voyages had been prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberval sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to be built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberval came down to St. Malo and found the ships fallen down to the road, with their yards across, full ready to depart and set sail, staying for nothing else but the coming of the general and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberval, the king's lieutenant, had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come down, which he had provided for the voyage, in the countries of Champagne and Normandy, and because the said things were very necessary, and that he was loath to depart without them, he determined to depart from

[1] Roberval was of Vimeux, which was a part of ancient Picardy, between the Bresle and the Somme. He was a man of great influence, not only there, but at court, where he was popularly known as "le petit roi de Vimeux."

St. Malo to Rouen, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come, and that the said Cartier should depart with the five ships which he had furnished and should go before; considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby he did expressly charge him to depart and set sail immediately upon the sight and receipt thereof, on pain of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the said voyage, he gave unto Captain Cartier full authority to depart and go before, and to govern all things as if he had been there in person, and himself departed to Honfleur to make his further preparation. After these things thus despatched, the wind coming fair, the foresaid five ships set sail together, well furnished and victualed for two years, the 23d of May, 1540.[1] And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continual torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that we were on the sea with our said five ships full three months before we could arrive at the port and haven of Canada, without ever having in all that time thirty hours of good wind to serve us to keep our right course; so that our five ships through those storms lost company one of another, all save two that kept together,—to wit, that wherein the captain was, and

[1] Dionne (La Nouvelle France, Quebec, 1891, p. 25 *et seq.*) says that Cartier sailed with only three vessels, and quotes Ramé (Documents Inédits, p. 29) to sustain his view; but he evidently loses sight of the two ships which Cartier sent back under the command of Marc Jalobert and Étienne Nouël, which were employed six months going and returning.

the other wherein went the Viscount of Beaupré,— until at length, at the end of one month, we met all together at the haven of Carpunt[1] in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing between Brittany and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great need of water, because of the cattle, as well goats, hogs, as other beasts which we carried for breed in the country, which we were constrained to water with cider and other drink. Now, therefore, because we were the space of three months in sailing on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, waiting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, we arrived not before the haven of St. Croix in Canada (where in the former voyage we had remained eight months) until the twenty-third day of August. In which place the people of the country came to our ships, making show of joy for our arrival, and, namely, he came thither which had the rule and government of the country of Canada, named Agohanna, which was appointed king there by Donnacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France. And he came to the captain's ship with six or seven boats, and with many women and children. And after the said Agohanna had inquired of the captain where Donnacona and the rest were, the captain answered him that Donnacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great lords, and were married, and would not return back into their country. The said Agohanna made no show of anger at all these speeches, and I think he took it so well because he remained

[1] "Rapont" in Relation Originale. *Antea*, p. 80, note 1.

lord and governor of the country by the death of the said Donnacona. After which conference the said Agohanna took a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with esnogny, which is their riches and the thing which they esteem most precious, as we esteem gold, which was upon his head instead of a crown, and he put the same on the head of our captain, and took from his wrists two bracelets of esnogny, and put them upon the captain's arms, colling him about the neck, and showing unto him great signs of joy — which was all dissimulation, as afterward it well appeared. The captain took his said crown of leather and put it again upon his head, and gave him and his wives certain small presents, signifying unto him that he had brought certain new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him, for which the said Agohanna thanked the captain. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drink, they departed and returned to the shore with their boats. After which things the said captain went with two of his boats up the river, beyond Canada and the port of St. Croix, to view a haven and a small river,[1] which is about four leagues higher; which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships than the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the said river, and at a low water he caused his ordnance to be planted to place his ships in more safety, which he meant to keep and stay in the country, which were three; which he did the day following, and the rest remained in the road in the midst of the river, in which place the victuals and other fur-

[1] This is the Cape Rouge River.

niture were discharged which they had brought, from the 26th of August until the 2d of September, what time they departed to return for St. Malo, in which ships he sent back Marc Jalobert, his brother-in-law, and Steven Nouël,[1] his nephew, skilful and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to advertise him what had been done and found, and how Monsieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that he feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven back again into France.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE AFORESAID RIVER AND HAVEN

The said river is small, not past fifty paces broad, and ships drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea; and at a low water there is nothing but a channel of a foot deep or thereabout. On both sides of the said river there are very good and fair grounds, full of as fair and mighty trees as any be in the world, and divers sorts, which are above ten fathoms higher than the rest; and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the country call *hanneda*, which hath the most excellent virtue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover, there are great store of oaks, the most excellent that ever I saw in my life, which were so laden with mast that they cracked again. Besides this there are fairer arables,[2] cedars, beeches, and other trees, than grow in France. And hard unto this wood on the south side the ground is all covered with vines, which we found laden with grapes as black as mulberries; but they be not so kind as those

[1] Étienne Nouël, son of his sister Jehanne Cartier.

[2] Arables. More properly, *érables*—the *Acer saccharinum*, or sugar-maple.

of France, because the vines be not tilled and because they grow of their own accord. Moreover, there are many whitethorns which bear leaves as big as oak-leaves and fruit like unto medlars.[1] To be short, it is as good a country to plow and manure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seeds here of our country, as cabbages, navews, lettuce, and others, which grew and sprung up out of the ground in eight days. The mouth of the river is toward the south, and it windeth northward like unto a snake; and at the mouth of it toward the east there is a high and steep cliff, where we made a way in manner of a pair of stairs, and aloft we made a fort to keep the nether fort and the ships, and all things that might pass as well by the great as by this small river.[2] Moreover, a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straight and handsome, and somewhat inclining toward the south, as easy to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with fair oaks and other trees of great beauty, no thicker than the forests of France. Here we set twenty men to work, which in one day had labored about an acre and a half of the said ground, and sowed it part with navews, or small turnips, which at the end of eight days, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And upon that high cliff we found a fair fountain very near the said

[1] Medlar (the *Mespilus Germanica*). Its fruit is small and brown, similar to the thorn-apple, and is considered best when near the point of decay; hence Shakspere in As You Like It, Act III, Scene ii:

"You 'll be rotten ere you be half ripe, and that 's the right virtue of the medlar."

[2] The place selected by Cartier for his fort was at the mouth of the Cape Rouge River, on the high point now called Redclyffe. Recent excavations have disclosed a baker's oven, within which was the wood half burned, as though, says Ferland, "the fire had been suddenly extinguished." *Cf.* Picturesque Quebec, Le Moine, Montreal, 1882, p. 399 *et seq.*

fort, adjoining whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be diamonds. On the other side of the said mountain and at the foot thereof, which is toward the great river, is all along a goodly mine of the best iron in the world, and it reacheth even hard unto our fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined mine, ready to be put into the furnace. And on the water's side we found certain leaves of fine gold as thick as a man's nail. And westward of the said river there are, as hath been said, many fair trees, and toward the water a goodly meadow full of as fair and goodly grass as ever I saw in any meadow in France; and between the said meadow and the wood are great store of vines, and beyond the said vines the land groweth full of hemp which groweth of itself, which is as good as possibly may be seen, and as strong. And at the end of the said meadow within a hundred paces there is a rising ground which is of a kind of slatestone, black and thick, wherein are veins of mineral matter, which show like gold and silver; and throughout all that stone there are great grains of the said mine. And in some places we have found stones like diamonds, the most fair, polished, and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see; when the sun shineth upon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.[1]

HOW AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE TWO SHIPS WHICH WERE SENT BACK INTO BRITTANY, AND THAT THE FORT WAS BEGUN TO BE BUILDED, THE CAPTAIN PREPARED TWO BOATS TO GO UP THE GREAT RIVER TO DISCOVER THE PASSAGE OF THE THREE SAULTS OR FALLS OF THE RIVER

THE said captain having despatched two ships to return to carry news, according as he had in charge

[1] These sparkling crystals are still to be seen where Cartier saw them,

from the king, and that the fort was begun to be builded for preservation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Viscount of Beaupré, and other gentlemen, masters, and pilots chosen for counsel, to make a voyage with two boats furnished with men and victuals to go as far as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the saults of water, which are to be passed to go to Saguenay, that he might be the readier in the spring to pass farther, and in the winter time to make all things needful in a readiness for their business. The foresaid boats being made ready, the captain and Martin de Painpont, with other gentlemen and the remnant of the mariners, departed from the said place of Charlesbourg Royal the seventh day of September in the year aforesaid 1540.[1] And the Viscount of Beaupré stayed behind for the guarding and government of all things in the fort. And as they went up the river the captain went to see the lord of Hochelay,[2] which dwelleth between Canada and Hochelaga, which in the former voyage had given unto the said captain a little girl, and had oftentimes informed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Dom Agaya (whom the captain in his former voyage had carried into France) would have wrought against

and are a kind of quartz, or rock-crystal. Champlain clears up the mystery of Cartier's application of the title "diamonds" to these crystals by the use of a phrase. On the map of Quebec he designates a place as "a gravelly shore where a quantity of diamonds are found better than those of Alanson." The diamonds of Alençon, which were precisely like the crystals seen by Cartier, though not the true diamond of Africa and Brazil, were extensively used in jewelry, and were worn by the wealthy. It seems probable that Cartier was deceived with respect to the "leaves of fine gold" which he says he found. That the gold which he exhibited to Roberval, and which was tested, was genuine there can be little doubt. Auriferous deposits are found in the Chaudière district, Quebec, partly in the form of drift and partly in quartz veins cutting slate.

[1] 1540. This date should be 1541.

[2] So in the narrative: the same as Achelaiy.

him. In regard of which his courtesy the said captain would not pass by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the captain thought himself beholden unto him, he gave unto him two young boys, and left them with him to learn their language, and bestowed upon him a cloak of Paris red, which cloak was set with yellow and white buttons of tin, and small bells. And withal he gave him two basins of latten[1] and certain hatchets and knives; whereat the said lord seemed highly to rejoice, and thanked the captain. This done, the captain and his company departed from that place. And we sailed with so prosperous a wind that we arrived the eleventh day of the month at the first sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the town of Tutonaguy. And after we were arrived there we determined to go and pass as far up as it was possible with one of the boats, and that the other should stay there until it returned; and we double-manned her to row up against the course or stream of the said sault. And after we had passed some part of the way from our other boat, we found bad ground and great rocks and so great a current that we could not possibly pass any farther with our boat. And the captain resolved to go by land to see the nature and fashion of the sault. And after that we were come on shore we found hard by the water-side a way and beaten path going toward the said saults, by which we took our way. And on the said way, and soon after, we found an habitation of people which made us great cheer and entertained us very

[1] "Laton." A composition of two thirds copper and one third zinc, sometimes called *cuivre jaune* by the French to distinguish it from *cuivre rouge*, or pure copper.

friendly. And after that he had signified unto them that we were going toward the saults, and that we desired to go to Saguenay, four young men went along with us to show us the way, and they brought us so far that we came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second sault, which came and brought us of their victuals, as pottage and fish, and offered us of the same. After that the captain had inquired of them, as well by signs as words, how many more saults we had to pass to go to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people showed us and gave us to understand that we were at the second sault, and that there was but one more to pass, that the river was not navigable to go to Saguenay, and that the said sault was but a third part farther than we had traveled, showing us the same with certain little sticks, which they laid upon the ground in a certain distance, and afterward laid other small branches between both, representing the saults.[1] And by the said mark, if their saying be true, it can be but six leagues by land to pass the said saults.

Hereafter followeth the figure of the three saults.

After that we had been advertised by the said people of the things above-mentioned, both because the day was far spent and we had neither drunk nor eaten

[1] This was a favorite method with the savages of conveying information. Champlain, when he visited the Saco Indians, says that "they placed six pebbles at equal distances apart, giving me to understand by this, that these marks were as many chiefs and tribes," and Frobisher mentions the use of sticks by a captive to inform his people of his captivity. *Vide* Voyages of the English Nation, etc., Hakluyt, vol. i, p. 156; Œuvres de Champlain, Laverdière, p. 206.

the same day, we concluded to return unto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people, to the number of four hundred persons or thereabout, which seemed to give us very good entertainment and to rejoice of our coming. And therefore our captain gave each of them certain small trifles, as combs, brooches of tin and copper, and other small toys, and unto the chief men every one his little hatchet and hook, whereat they made certain cries and ceremonies of joy. But a man must not trust them for all their fair ceremonies and signs of joy, for if they had thought they had been too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats and passed by the dwelling of the lord of Hochelay, with whom the captain had left the two youths as he came up the river, thinking to have found him; but he could find nobody save one of his sons, who told the captain that he was gone to Maisouna, as our boys also told us, saying that it was two days since he departed. But in truth he was gone to Canada to conclude with Agohanna[1] what they should do against us. And when we were arrived at our fort, we understood by our people that the savages of the country came not any more about our fort, as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and fear of us.[2] Wherefore our captain, having been

[1] "Agona" in the narrative, a contraction common to the time.

[2] These savages, who had before received the French so kindly, could not be expected to forget the treachery by which they had lost their king and friends. Mather, alluding to a similar piece of treachery by an English captain some time before the arrival of the Pilgrim colony, declares that it "laid the foundation of grievous annoyances to all the English en-

advertised, by some of our men which had been at Stadaconé to visit them, that there was a wonderful number of the country people assembled together, caused all things in our fortress to be set in good order, etc.

(The rest of this voyage is wanting.)

deavors of settlements, especially in the northern parts of the land, for several years ensuing. The Indians would never *forget* or *forgive* this injury; but when the English afterwards came upon this coast, in their fishing voyages, they were still assaulted in a hostile manner, to the killing and wounding of many poor men by the angry natives, in revenge of the wrong that had been done them; and some intended Plantations were hereby utterly nipt in the bud." *Vide* Magnalia Christi Americana, Mather, Hartford, 1855, p. 55.

VOYAGE OF ROBERVAL

1542

THE VOYAGE OF JOHN FRANCIS DE LA ROCQUE, KNIGHT, LORD OF ROBERVAL,

TO THE COUNTRIES OF CANADA, SAGUENAY, AND HOCHELAGA, WITH THREE TALL SHIPS AND TWO HUNDRED PERSONS, BOTH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, BEGUN IN APRIL, 1542, IN WHICH PARTS HE REMAINED THE SAME SUMMER AND ALL THE NEXT WINTER

From Hakluyt

SIR JOHN FRANCIS DE LA ROCQUE, Knight, Lord of Roberval, appointed by the king as his lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished three tall ships, chiefly at the king's cost, and having in his fleet two hundred persons, as well men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of quality, as, namely, with Monsieur Sainterre,[1] his lieutenant, L'Espiney, his ensign, Captain Guinecourt, Monsieur de Noir Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frete, La Brosse, Francis de Mire, La Salle, and Royeze, and Jean Alphonse of Saintonge, an excellent pilot, set sail from Rochelle, the 16th of April, 1542.[2] The same day, about noon,

[1] This was Paul d'Auxilhon, Seigneur de St. Nectaire, which is a small village in the Puy-de-Dôme.

[2] Dionne records it as his belief that Roberval sailed from Rochelle three months after Cartier, and that, not thinking it prudent to attempt to reach the St. Lawrence so late in the season, he made land at Cape Breton, which he explored, and then set sail for France, which he reached about Christmas, 1541. Here he met Jalobert and Nouël, who had been sent

we came athwart of Chef de Boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Monday, the 17th of the said month, we departed from Chef de Boys. The wind served us notably for a time, but within a few days it came quite contrary, which hindered our journey for a long space, for we were suddenly enforced to turn back and to seek harbor in Belle Isle, on the coast of Brittany,[1] where we stayed so long and had such contrary weather by the way that we could not reach Newfoundland until the 7th of June.

The 8th of this month we entered into the road of St. John, where we found seventeen ships of fishers. While we made somewhat long abode here, Jacques Cartier and his company, returning from Canada, whither he was sent with five sails the year before, arrived in the very same harbor. Who, after he had done his duty to our general, told him that he had brought certain diamonds and a quantity of gold ore which was found in the country; which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tried in a furnace and found to be good.

Furthermore, he informed the general that he could not with his small company withstand the savages,

home by Cartier to obtain provisions and information concerning Roberval's failure to join him, and having revictualed his ships again, sailed for the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1542 as here recorded. This belief is based upon the statement of Lescarbot that Roberval sailed in 1541 and built a fort at Cape Breton. Charlevoix says: "Roberval built a fort some say on the St. Lawrence River, others on Cape Breton Island." This is improbable, for if it were true it is hardly possible that an act so important would not be mentioned in the history of Roberval's doings. *Vide* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot, Paris, 1866, tome ii, p. 391. *Cf.* Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France, Champlain, Paris, 1632, p. 294; Première Établissement de la Foy, etc., New York, 1881, tome i, p. 57; Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France, Charlevoix, Paris, 1744, tome i, p. 32.

[1] This is Belleisle en Mer, on the coast of France, eight miles south of Quiberon Point.

which went about daily to annoy him, and this was the cause of his return into France. Nevertheless he and his company commended the country to be very rich and fruitful. But when our general, being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to go back again with him, he and his company, moved as it seems with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and, without taking their leaves, departed home for Brittany.

We spent the greatest part of June in this harbor of St. John, partly in furnishing ourselves with fresh water, whereof we stood in very great need by the way, and partly in composing and taking up a quarrel between some of our countrymen and certain Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesaid month, we departed hence and entered into the Grand Bay, and passed by the Isle of Ascension,[1] and finally arrived four leagues westward of the Isle of Orléans. In this place we found a convenient harbor for our shipping, where we cast anchor, went ashore with our people, and chose out a convenient place to fortify ourselves in, fit to command the main river, and of strong situation against all invasion of enemies. Thus toward the end of July we brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to travail in fortifying ourselves.

OF THE FORT OF FRANCE ROY, AND THAT WHICH WAS DONE THERE

Having described the beginning, the midst, and the end of the voyage made by Monsieur Roberval in

[1] The island of Anticosti.

the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other countries in the west parts, he sailed so far (as is declared in other books) that he arrived in the said country, accompanied with two hundred persons, soldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleet. The said general at his first arrival built a fair fort, near and somewhat westward above Canada,[1] which is very beautiful to behold, and of great force, situated upon an high mountain, wherein there were two courts of buildings, a great tower, and another of forty or fifty feet long, wherein there were divers chambers, a hall, a kitchen, houses of office, cellars high and low, and near unto it were an oven, and mills, and a stove to warm men in, and a well before the house. And the building was situated upon the great river of Canada called France Prime by Monsieur Roberval. There was also at the foot of the mountain another lodging, part whereof was a great tower of two stories high, two courts of good building, where at the first all our victuals and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept; and near unto that tower there is another small river. In these two places, above and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

And in the month of August and in the beginning of September every man was occupied in such work as each one was able to do. But the 14th of September our aforesaid general sent back into France two ships which had brought his furniture, and he appointed for admiral Monsieur de Sainterre, and the other captain was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carry news unto the king, and to come back again unto him the year next

[1] Hochelaga, now Montreal, was the western limit of Cartier's Canada.

ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the king; and also to bring news out of France how the king accepted certain diamonds which were sent him and were found in this country.

After these two ships were departed, consideration was had how they should do and how they might pass out the winter in this place. First they took a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short; and they were scanted so that in each mess they had but two loaves, weighing a pound apiece, and half a pound of beef. They ate bacon at dinner, with half a pound of butter, and beef at supper, and about two handfuls of beans without butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eat dry cod, and sometimes they did eat it green at dinner with butter, and they ate of porpoises and beans at supper.

About that time the savages brought us great stores of aloses,[1] which is a fish somewhat red like a salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them.

In the end many of our people fell sick of a certain disease in their legs, reins, and stomach, so that they seemed to be deprived of all their limbs, and there died thereof about fifty.

Note that the ice began to break up in April.

Monsieur Roberval used very good justice, and punished every man according to his offense. One, whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes was laid in irons and kept prisoner for his offense, and others also were put in irons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women, by which means they lived in quiet.

[1] Aloses. The common shad.

THE MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES

To declare unto you the state of the savages. They are people of a goodly stature and well made; they are very white, but they are all naked, and if they were appareled as the French are they would be as white and as fair; but they paint themselves for fear of heat and sunburning.

Instead of apparel they wear skins upon them like mantles, and they have a small pair of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hosen and shoes of leather, excellently made; and they have no shirts, neither cover they their heads; but their hair is trussed up above the crown of their heads and plaited or braided. Touching their victuals, they eat good meat, but all unsalted, but they dry it, and afterward they broil it, as well fish as flesh. They have no certain dwelling-place, and they go from place to place, as they think they may best find food, as aloses in one place, and other fish, salmons, sturgeons, mullets, surmullets,[1] bass, carps, eels, pinperneaux,[2] and other fresh-water fish, and store of

[1] Mullets and surmullets. The fish designated by these titles with which Cartier was familiar were those of the families *Mugilidæ* and *Mullidæ*,— namely, the *Mugil capito* and *chelo*, and *Mullus surmuletus* and *barbatus*,— and are not found in Canadian waters. His mullets and surmullets were suckers of different varieties of the family *Catostomidæ*, which resemble European mullets, but are greatly inferior to them as food-fish.

[2] The pinperneau, or pimperneau, is spoken of in early works as an "agile fish" and "the Sparus of the Latins," while in Glossaire de Salins it is designated as the "Spargus, poisson dit pimpernel." The pinperneau mentioned by Cartier has never been recognized, but from the foregoing quotations there is reason to infer that it was a representative of a family of spiny fishes belonging to the genus *Sparidæ*, which in the sixteenth century embraced many heterogeneous species, now variously classified. A careful study of the fishes of this genus in Canadian waters points to the supposition that the pinperneau of Cartier was the yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*), so fre-

porpoises. They feed also of stags, wild boars, bugles,[1] porkespines, and store of other wild beasts; and there is as great store of fowls as they can desire.

Touching their bread, they make very good, and it is of great mill; and they live very well, for they take care for nothing else.

They drink seal oil, but this at their great feasts.

They have a king in every country, and are wonderful obedient unto him; and they do to him honor according to their manner and fashion. And when they travel from place to place they carry all their goods with them in their boats.

The women nurse the children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skins of fur.

THE VOYAGE OF MONSIEUR ROBERVAL FROM HIS FORT IN CANADA UNTO SAGUENAY, THE 5TH OF JUNE, 1543

Monsieur Roberval, the king's lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said province of Saguenay on the Tuesday, the fifth day of June, 1543, after supper; and he, with all his furniture, was embarked to make the said voyage. But upon a certain occasion they

quently mentioned by the Jesuits and other early writers as goldfish, and which still abounds in regions visited by Cartier. As it is a common European fish, the French were doubtless familiar with it. Jordan and Everman (American Food and Game Fishes, New York, 1902, p. 366) speak of it as attaining a weight of eight or nine pounds in European waters, and of from three to four pounds in those of North America. As Cartier speaks of "eels, pinperneaux, and other fresh-water fish," it would imply that his pinperneaux were not eels, as they are designated by some French authors, notably in Menagier de Paris, tome ii, p. 191, where they are spoken of as small eels.

[1] Bugles. Buffaloes (*Bison Americanus*). Porkespines = porcupines.

lay in the road over against the place before mentioned; but on the Wednesday, about six o'clock in the morning, they set sail, and sailed against the stream, in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesaid general.

The general left behind him in the aforesaid place and fort thirty persons to remain there until his return from Saguenay, which he appointed to be the first of July, or else they should return into France. And he left there behind him but two barks to carry the said thirty persons, and the furniture which was there, while he stayed still in the country. And for effectuating hereof he left as his lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commission, and charged all men to obey him and to be at the commandment of the said lieutenant. The victuals which were left for their maintenance until the said first day of July were received by the said Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday, the 14th of June, Monsieur L'Espiney, La Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeval, and others returned from the general, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one bark were drowned and lost, among whom were Monsieur de Noir Fontaine and one named La Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday, the 19th of June aforesaid, there came from the general Monsieur de Villeneuf, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixscore pounds' weight of their corn, and letters to stay yet until Magdalen-tide, which is the twenty-second day of July.

(The rest of this voyage is wanting.)

COURSE OF JEAN ALPHONSE

1542

COURSE OF JEAN ALPHONSE

HERE FOLLOWETH THE COURSE FROM BELLE ISLE, CARPONT, AND THE GRAND BAY, IN NEWFOUNDLAND, UP THE RIVER OF CANADA, FOR THE SPACE OF TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY LEAGUES, OBSERVED BY JEAN ALPHONSE OF SAINTONGE, CHIEF PILOT TO MONSIEUR ROBERVAL, 1542

BELLES ISLES[1] are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$; Belles Isles and Carpont are N.N.W. and S.S.E. and they are ten leagues distant; Carpont is in 52 degrees; Carpont and Belle Isle[2] from the Grand Bay are N.E. and S.W., and the distance from Belle Isle to the Grand Bay is seven leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a half, and on the north side thereof there is a rock; half a league from the isle, over against Carpont, toward the east, there is a small flat island, and on the side toward the N.E. there is a flat rock. And when thou comest out of the harbor of Carpont thou must leave this rock on the starboard side, and also on the larboard side there are two or three small isles; and when thou comest out of the N.E. side, ranging along the shore toward the west, about two pikes' lengths in the midway, there is a shoal which lieth on the starboard side; and sail thou by the north coast, and leave two parts

[1] So in Hakluyt, and refers to the group so called.

[2] This no doubt refers to the island which Norie, in his Sailing Directions for the East Coast of North America, part i, says "should be called the Northern Belle Isle, in order to distinguish it from those already described"; meaning the group at the entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle of which he had spoken.

of the Grand Bay toward the south, because there is a rock which runneth two or three leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the haven of Buttes, run along the north shore about one league or

Labrador[1]

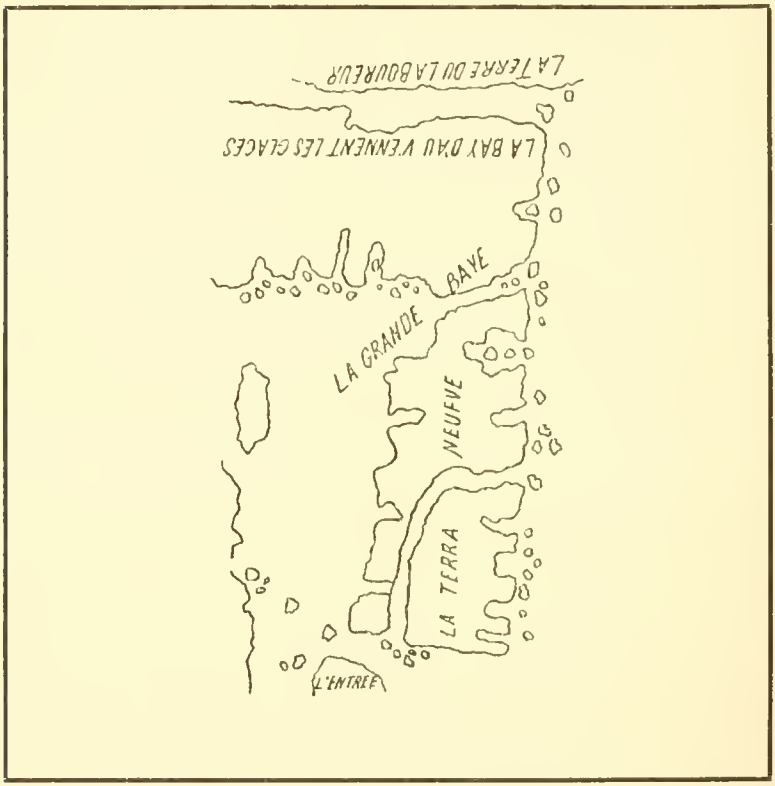
a half off, for the coast is without all danger. Belle Isle, in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, near unto the north shore, lie N.E., W., and S.W., and the distance is thirty leagues. The Grand Bay at the

[1] This and the five succeeding coast outlines were made by Jean Alphonse, who accompanied Roberval on his voyage to the St. Lawrence in 1542, and are interesting as being of so early a date.

entrance is but seven leagues broad from land to land, until it come over against the Baydes Châteaux, and from thenceforward it hath not past five leagues in breadth; and against Blanc Sablon it is eight leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the south shore is all low land along the sea-coast; the north shore is reasonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 ⅔ degrees. The Isles of Blanc Sablon and the Isles of the Demoiselle are N.E., W.S.W., and take a little of the W.S.W., and they are distant thirty-six leagues. These isles are in 50 deg. ¾, and there is a good haven, and you may enter by a high cape which lieth along toward the N.E., and within the distance of a pike and a half, because of a rock which lieth on your larboard side, and you may anchor in ten-fathom water over against a little nook; and from the great headland unto the place where thou dost anchor, there is not above the length of two cables. And if thou wouldst go out by the west side, thou must sail near the isle by the starboard, and give room unto the isle upon the larboard at the coming forth; and when thou art not past a cable's length out thou must sail hard by the isles on the larboard side, by reason of a sunken flat which lieth on the starboard, and thou shalt sail so on to the S.S.W. until thou come in sight of a rock which shineth, which is about half a league in the sea distant from the isles, and thou shalt leave it on the larboard (and from the Isles of the Demoiselle unto Newfoundland the sea is not in breadth above thirty-six leagues, because that Newfoundland, even unto Cape Breton, runneth not but N.N.E. and S.S.W.).

Between the Isles of the Demoiselle and the Isles

of Blanc Sablon there be many isles and good harbors; and on this coast there are falcons and hawks and certain fowls which seem to be pheasants.[1] The Isles



Newfoundland

of the Demoiselle and Cape Thiennot are N.E. and W.S.W. and take a little of the N.E. and S.W., and they are distant eighteen leagues. Cape Thiennot is in 50 deg. and ¼, and there the sea is broadest.

[1] Pheasants. What is here mentioned is doubtless the ptarmigan (*Lagopus mutus*), which is still found in this region.

And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Breton, seventy leagues, which is the greatest breadth of the sea. And there are six or seven isles between the Isles of the Demoiselle[1] and Cape Thiennot.

Cape Breton

Cape Thiennot hath in the sea, five or six leagues distant from it, a sunken island, dangerous for ships.

[1] Isles of the Demoiselle. So named from a romantic episode in which the niece of Roberval was the heroine, according to Thevet (Cosmographie Universelle, ch. vi, pp. liv, xxiii). There were in the company of Roberval his niece Marguerite and a young gentleman who proved to be her lover. Roberval, discovering their intimacy, was furious, and landed his niece and her lover, with her nurse, Bastienne, on a wild island to perish. Her uncle, however, left them guns and ammunition, together with provisions sufficient to sustain life a short time. A small hut was erected for shelter, and the fight for existence began. The lover and nurse both died; but Marguerite for nearly two years fought off the wild beasts, subsisting upon the flesh of those she killed and such herbs and roots as she could find, and sustained her spirit by prayer and faith in ultimate deliverance. At last, a fishing-vessel passing the island, she was discovered and taken back to France, where she lived ever after in the odor of sanctity. Such, in brief, is the story of Thevet, which he relates in a somewhat altered form in his Grande Insulaire. Marguerite of Navarre made use of this story before Thevet in her Heptameron (Paris, 1559), under the title, "Extrême amour et austerité de femme en terre estrange." Her version makes the heroine the wife of the man, who is placed on the island to die

The Cape Thiennot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are N.E. and S.S.W., and they are twenty-two leagues distant; the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. and ½. The said isle lieth N.W. and S.E.; the N.W. end is in 50 degrees of latitude, and the S.E. end is in 48 degrees and a half, and it is about twenty-five leagues long and four or five leagues broad; and from the N.W. end of the isle unto the firm land of the north side the sea is not above seven leagues broad, but unto the firm land on the south side are about fifteen leagues. Cape Thiennot and the end of the Isle of Ascension toward the S.E. are N.E. and S.W., and are distant thirty leagues.

The said Cape of Thiennot and the N.W. end of the Isle of Ascension are east and west, and take a little of the N.E. and S.W., and they are distant thirty-four leagues.

The Isle of Ascension is a goodly isle and a goodly champion land, without any hills, standing all upon white rocks and alabaster, all covered with trees unto the sea-shore, and there are all sorts of trees as there be in France, and there be wild beasts, as bears, luserns, porkespicks. And from the S.E. end of the Isle of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Breton is but fifty leagues. The N.W. end of the isle and the Cape of Monts Notre Dame, which is on the mainland toward the south, are N.E. and W.S.W., and the distance between them is fifteen leagues.

by Roberval because of treason. When rescued and restored to her friends, she lives a most holy and useful life, teaching the little daughters of the noble ladies who thronged about her to read and write. This island has been confounded with the Isle of Demons,—Isola de Demoni, I. dos Demonios, Y. das Demonios, etc., of Gastaldi, Martines, Guérard, Mercator, and others,—which is much farther east and north.

The cape is in 49 degrees, which is a very high land. The cape end of the Isle of Ascension toward the S.E. are E. and W., and there is fifteen leagues' distance between them.

The Bay of Molues[1] or Gaspé is in 48 degrees, and the coast lieth north and south, and taketh a quarter of the N.E. and S.W. unto the Bay of Heat; and there are three isles, one great one and two small. From the Bay of Heat until you pass the Monts Notre Dame all the land is high and good ground, all covered with trees. Ognedoc[2] is a good bay and lieth N.N.W. and S.S.E., and it is a good harbor; and you must sail along the shore on the north side, by reason of the low point at the entrance thereof, and, when you are passed the point, bring yourself to an anchor in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water toward the south shore; and here within this haven are two rivers, one which goeth toward the N.W. and the other to the S.W. And on this coast there is great fishing for cods and other fish, where there is more store than is in Newfoundland and better fish. And here is great store of river fowl, as mallards, wild geese, and others; and here are all sorts of trees,—rose-trees, raspberries, filbert-trees, apple-trees, pear-trees,—and it is hotter here in summer than in France.

The Isle of Ascension and the Seven Isles which

[1] The Bay of Molues or Gaspé. This name, meaning in English Cod Bay, is now known as Mal Bay, and it is claimed that this is a corruption of the original name. The same name also appears on the charts of Le Cordier, 1696, and Franquelin, 1699, on the southerly coast of Newfoundland. On the northwesterly coast there is now a Mal Bay north of Bonne Bay, which suggests a more natural origin of the name.

[2] Ognedoc. The same as Honguedo, or Gaspé.

lie on the north shore lie S.E. and W.N.W., and are distant twenty-four leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the Seven Isles are N.N.W. and S.S.E., and are distant thirty-five leagues. The Cape of Monts Notre Dame and the Seven Isles are north and south, and the cut over from one to the other is twenty-five leagues, and this is the breadth of this sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to wax narrower and narrower. The Seven Isles are in 50 degrees and ½. The Seven Isles and the Point of Ongear[1] lie N.E. and S.W., and the distance between them is fifteen leagues, and between them are certain small islands. And the Point of Ongear and the Monts Notre Dame, which are on the south side of the entrance of the river, are north and south, and the cut over from the one to the other is ten leagues, and this is here the breadth of the sea. The Point of Ongear and the River of Caen[2] lie east and west, and they are distant twelve leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein grow all sorts of trees that are in France, and some fruits. The Point of Ongear is in 49 degrees and ¼. And the River of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle[3] lie N.E. and S.W., and they are distant twelve leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48 degrees and ⅔. In this River of Caen there is great store of fish; and here the sea is not past eight leagues broad.

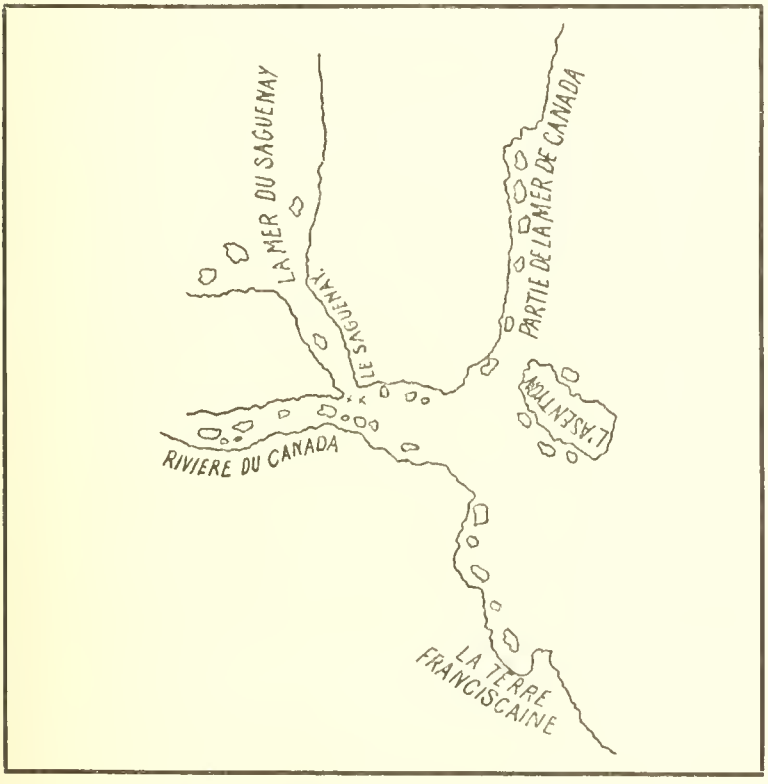
The Isle of Raquelle is a very low isle, which is near unto the south shore, hard by a high cape, which

[1] Point of Ongear. The present Point des Monts.

[2] The River of Caen, now the Matane. The Cape des Monts Notre Dame is probably the present Mount Louis.

[3] The Isle of Raquelle — in the Cosmographie of Alphonse, Raquelay — is doubtless Bic Island.

is called the Cape of Marble.[1] There is no danger there at all, and between Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may pass; and there is not from the isle to the south shore above one league, and from the



The St. Lawrence, Saguenay, and Anticosti

isle unto the north shore about four leagues. The Isle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are N.E. and W.S.W., and are distant fourteen leagues, and there are between them two small islands near the

[1] The Cape of Marble. The highland of Bic.

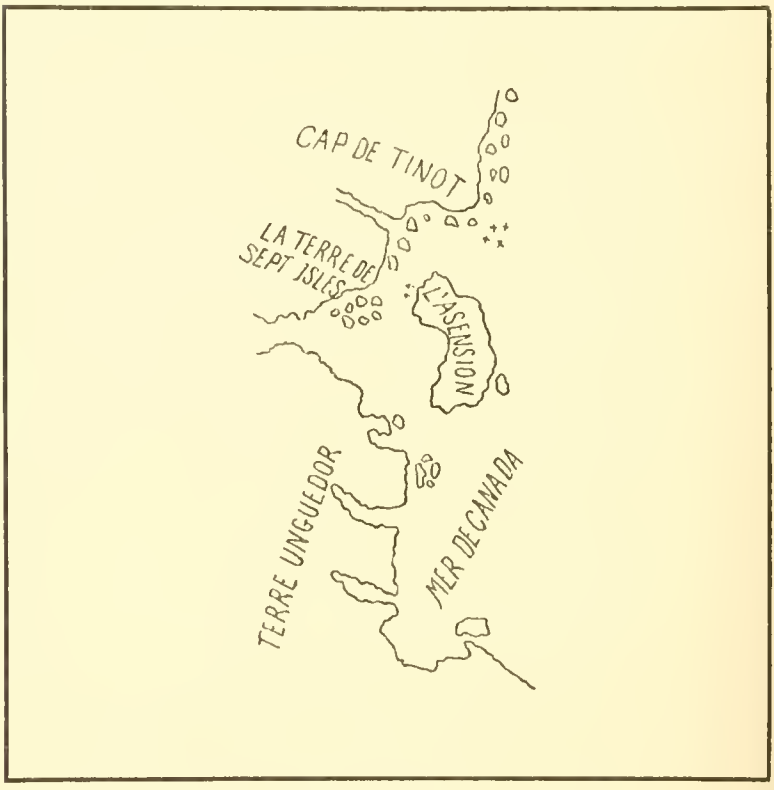
north shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48 degrees and ⅓, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the S.W., and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to wax wider and wider, and it seemeth to be as it were an arm of the sea; and I think that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay,[1] for it sendeth forth there a great current, and there doth run in that place a terrible race or tide. And here the river from the north shore to the south shore is not past four leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage between both the lands, because there lie banks of rocks in the river.

The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lie N.E. and S.W., and take a quarter of the east and west, and they are distant eighteen leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Lepures or Hares lie N.N.E. and S.S.W., and are distant five leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are N.N.W. and S.S.W., and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Monts Notre Dame unto Canada and unto Hoche-

[1] The Sea of Cathay. Probably the Yellow Sea. The term Cathay is said to have been introduced to Europe by Jean Plan Carpin and Ruisbrook, a Brabantine monk, about the middle of the thirteenth century. The limits of Cathay were indefinite, and comprised the present North China and the desert steppes, which were supposed to be covered by populous cities. Manchuria formed a part of it, and its people are still called Khitans by Russians and Persians. According to Yule, China is a corruption of the word Khitai. It was the objective point of early navigators seeking the northern waters of America. *Vide* Cathay and the Way Thither, Henry Yule, C.B., Lond., 1866, p. cxv *et passim;* The First Three Books on America, Eden, Birmingham, 1885, pp. 22–26, 59, 98, *et passim;* Disquisitio Geographica et Historica de Chataja, Muller, Berolini, 1671, *in loco;* Marco Polo, Yule, vol. i, p. 15; Atlas, Catalan, Le Cordier, p. 6.

laga all the land on the south coast is fair, a low land and goodly champaign, all covered with trees unto the brink of the river. And the land on the north side is higher, and in some places there are high mountains. And from the Isle of Hares unto the Isle of Orléans the river is not past four or five leagues broad. Between the Isle of Hares and the high land on the north side the sea is not past a league and a half broad, and it is very deep, for it is above one hundred fathoms deep in the midst. To the east of the Isle of Hares there are two or three small isles and rocks. And from hence to the Isle des Coudres or of Filberts, all is nothing but isles and rocks on the south shore; and toward the north the sea is fair and deep. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filberts lie N.E., W., and S.W., and they are distant twelve leagues. And you must always run along the high land on the north shore, for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks; and you must pass by the side of the Isle of Filberts, and the river there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sail in the midst of the channel, and in the midst runneth the best passage either at a high or low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had need of good anchor and cable. The Isle of Filberts is a small isle about one league long and half a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The Isle of Filberts stands in 47 deg. and ¾. The Isle of Filberts and the Isle of Orléans lie N.E. and S.W., and they are distant ten leagues, and thou must pass by the high land on the north side about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the river there is nothing but shoals and rocks.

And when thou shalt be over against a round cape thou must take over to the south shore southwest and a quarter toward the south, and thou shalt sail in five, six, and seven fathoms; and there the River of Canada



Anticosti and entrance to the St. Lawrence

beginneth to be fresh and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the Isle of Orléans, where the river beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sail in the midst of the river, and thou shalt leave the isle on the starboard, which is on the right hand;

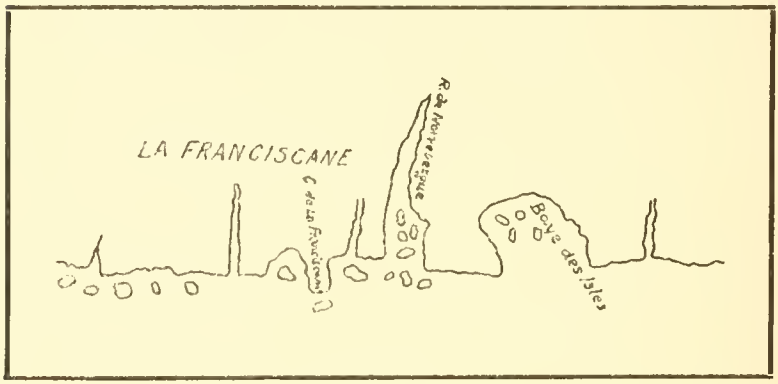
and here the river is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath twenty and thirty fathoms water. And toward the south shore there is a ledge of isles all covered with trees, and they end over against the point of the Isle of Orléans. And the point of the Isle of Orléans toward the N.E. is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orléans is a fair isle, all covered with trees even unto the river's side; and it is about five leagues long and a league and a half broad. And on the north shore there is another river, which falleth into the main river at the end of the island; and ships may very well pass there. From the midst of the isle unto Canada the river runneth west, and from the place of Canada unto France Roy the river turneth W.S.W., and from the west end of the isle to Canada is but one league, and unto France Roy four leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the isle thou shalt see a great river which falleth fifteen or twenty fathoms down from a rock, and maketh a terrible noise.[1] The fort of France Roy is in 47 degrees and one-sixth part of a degree.

The extension of all these lands, upon just occasion, is called New France, for it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the winter is because the fresh river is naturally more cold than the sea; and it is also broad and deep; and in some places it is half a league and above in breadth; and also because the land is not tilled nor full of people; and it is all full of woods, which is the cause of cold, because there is not store of fire nor cattle. And the sun hath his

[1] The Falls of Montmorency.

meridian as high as the meridian at Rochelle, and it is noon here when the sun is at S.S.W. at Rochelle. And here the north star by the compass standeth N.N.E.; and when at Rochelle it is noon it is but half an hour past nine at France Roy.

From the said place unto the ocean sea and the coast of New France is not above fifty leagues' distance,



Coast of Maine

and from the entrance of Norumbega unto Florida are three hundred leagues; and from this place of France Roy to Hochelaga are about eighty leagues, and unto the Isle of Rasus thirty leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entereth into the River of Canada and unto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France Roy until a man come forth of the Grand Bay is not above two hundred and thirty leagues; and the course is N.E. and W.S.W., not above 5 degrees and ⅓ difference, and reckon sixteen leagues and a half to a degree.

By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are still better and better, and more

fruitful; and this land is fit for figs and pears; and I think that gold and silver will be found here, according as the people of the country say. These lands lie over against Tartary, and I doubt not but they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundness of the world. And, therefore, it were good to have a small ship of seventy tons to discover the coast of New France on the back side of Florida; for I have been at a bay as far as 42 degrees between Norumbega and Florida, and I have not searched the end thereof, and I know not whether it pass through. And in all these countries there are oaks, and bortz,[1] ashes, elmz, arables, trees of life, pines, prusse-trees, cedars, great walnut-trees, and wild nuts, hazel-trees, wild pear-trees, wild grapes, and there have been found red plums. And very fair corn groweth there, and peason grow of their own accord, gooseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly forests wherein men may hunt; and there are great store of stags, deer, porkespicks, and the savages say there be unicorns. Fowl there are in abundance, as bustards, wild geese, cranes, turtle-doves, ravens, crows, and many other birds. All things which are sown there are not past two or three days in coming up out of the ground. I have told in one ear of corn an hundred and twenty grains, like the corn of France. And you need not to sow your wheat until March, and it will be ripe in the midst of August. The waters are better and perfecter than in France, and if the country were tilled and replenished with people it would be as hot as Rochelle. And the reason why it snoweth oftener there than in France is because

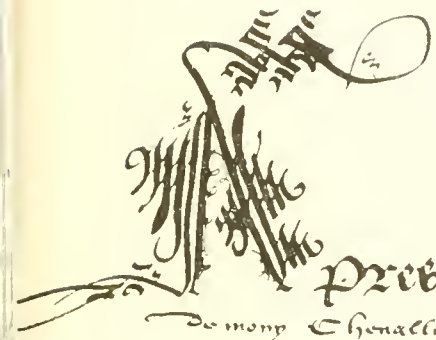
[1] Bortz = the birch; arables = maples; trees of life = arbor-vitæ; prusse-trees = spruces.

it raineth there but seldom; for the rain is converted into snows. All things above mentioned are true.

Jean Alphonse[1] made this voyage with Monsieur Roberval.

[1] Jean Alphonse was a native of Saintonge, and has left several charts showing his discoveries in the New World, as well as a cosmography, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. After a seafaring life of forty-one years he was killed in a naval battle with the Spaniards near Rochelle, "vers 1557," according to Dionne (La Nouvelle France, Quebec, 1891, p. 70). At the end of the Course of Jean Alphonse is the following: "There is a pardon to be seen for the pardoning of Monsieur Saineterre, Lieutenant of the said Monsieur de Roberval, given in Canada in the presence of the said Jean Alphonse." In the edition of the Hakluyt Society of MCMIV, vol. viii, pp. 275–283, the points of the compass are given in full, viz.: "north-northwest," "south-southeast," etc. The word "and" has also been used in place of the character "&," and several numerals spelled in full, as "four or five leagues," instead of "4 or 5 leagues." These are the only changes from the original, except in the spelling of some words.

FACSIMILE OF MANUSCRIPT
OF
CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE



Pres Que missire charles
de mony Chenalliers seigneur de la millerays et Visadmiral
de franse ent prins les sermens et faict Jurez les
Cappitaine, maystres et compaignons desdez Navires
de bien et Loyaulment ser pouoir au sermind du Roy
sonds La charge dudit Cavlier
Cautrimes du hanre et port de Sainct Malo enuyron
Lesdz dens Navires dupoit dennizon soixante tonneaulx
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Ingtrusme sont dapuel dudit Sr Visl Cmy ens trente

quatre Et auterpres bon temps Nauguns et bimins a trouue
nessiue Le depensse sonu de may et atrouuames de Cap
de bonne beste estant en Cnauiere huyt degrez et demy
de Latitude et en degrez de Longitude Et pom
Reguant nombre de glassse qui estoint Le long diretle
trouue Nous commt entree en vng hauure nommez sancte
Izatheomie estant an sesseonayst diretly Cap emmizon emy
lieues on fumees Lesquare dix sonus attendant nostre temps
et acoustuant noz bauques Et Le ppr sonu dudit mogs de
nuz pautisme dudit hable auterpres vng bent de onayst
et fumees portez an nord vng gnauf de nordeyst de cap
de bonne beste Jnterpres a leste des onayssanlez Le
quelle Isle estoit toute aduironnee et Enuironne dim leuez
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Ledit haure noz dens bauques fuysses alady Isle pom
anoie des onayssanlez Desquelez ya st guant Nombre
que cest bne chosse Jnestrable qui me le boyt Cau
nonobstant que Lady Isle contiemme emmizon bne c
Lieue destreomseuance en soit st bupplaine qui semble
que on lis ayt affimez / Et y en a cent plus alemmizon
diretle et en Lour que dedans Leste Dont pautie
diretly onayssanlez sont guand comme onayst noues .
et blanes Et ont le bec comme vng corbin et sont
tonsionnes en Lamies sans samans ponant bolles en lau
ponoie quily ont perdues aysles comme La moitie dimne

de quoy ilz vollent aussi fort dedans Lamer comme les
anlbres onaseanlz sont en Lamr Et sont trelz onaseanz
S grans que cest vne chosse merveillense Vne —
grommons trelz onaseanlz Apponalz Desquenlz noz dnys
barques en chargerent en moms de demye heure comme
de pneres Dont chamem de noz Mamres en sallerent
quatre ou cmq pippes sans ce que nous en peuuns mangier
de trop Damantaige par vne anlbre sont onaseanlz
qui vont en Lamr et en Demer qui sont plus petiz que
Lon nomme godez qui se atiment et nepheut a ladite Isle
sonbz Les plus grans Il y en anoit danlbres plus grans qui
sont blans qui se mettent apaut des anlbres en vne pauure
de lisle qui sont fort mamans a assallir Car ilz mordent
comme chiens Et sont pommez marganlz Et quant nous
que Ladite Isle soyt a Cnatorse Lieues de terre Les
ouns y passent a no de la grant terre pour mangier
de cest onaseanlz Desquelz noz gens en trouuent vng
grant comme vne bache aussi blanc comme vng signe
qui sailla en Lamer dauant eulz Et Le Landemain qui
est Le tont de la pentheconste en faisant nostre Nonne
vent terre tromames Ledit onza enuiron Leuy chemin qui
allort a terre aussi tost que nous fusions a la voille Et
nous Layant apperceu Luy baillames La chasse a noz barques
et Le prismes a force / La chace du quel estoit aussi
bonne a mangier comme dune genisse de deux ans

Le mercredi xxbis dudit moys Nous appareillames
a lentree de labaye des chasteaulx et pour la entrauoir
du temps et du grant nombre de glaces que trouuasmes
nous conuint entrer dedans vng hable estant aux
environs dicelle entree nommé le Kapont ou nous fumes
sans en ponuoir sortir iusques au nenssiesme iour de Iuyn
que en partismes pour passer oultre dedans ledit
Kapont est en cinquante et vng degrez et demy de latitude

Description de la terre depuis Cap Rouge Jusques au hable de Brest estant en Labaye

La terre depuis Cap Rouge Jusques au degrez
est La pointe de lentree de labaye gist de Cap en
cap nort nordest et sursuona est Et est toute ceste partie
de terre dIsles adiazantes et pres Les vnes des autres
que lon peult passer par entre Et celle cause y a plusieurs bons
hables dont ledit hable du Kapont et celuy du degrez
sont en Lune diceulx Isles Troys que est La plus haulte
de toutes On dessus de la quelle Lon doyt clairement
Les deux belles Isles qui sont pres Cap Rouge ou lon
compte vingt et vng Lieues audit hable de Kapont par
deux entrees Lune vers Nort est Lautre vers Le su
de Leste Mais il se fault donner garde de la bande est
pointe de Leste Car se sont bastures et pays comme
Et fault Ranger Leste de longuest a la longueur de

Demy Cable on plus pres qui bault Et pma ſon
allee ſues le ſn bous le Rapont Et ſe fault domer garde
de trois baſſes qui ſont ſoubz leau en chemal denoua
lyſle de Leſt Il ya de ſonty pavle chemal Troys ou
quatre braſſes et beau fond Lautre entre gſſt eſt
nordeſt et ſn bous Lonaſt a ſaulty abous

Departuit de Lappomte dn degual et entrant
en Lady baye faysant Lonaſt lung quart dn norouaſt
Lon doubte dung Iſlet qui demeurent de labout dont
lune eſt atrois Lieues delad pointe Et Lautre quinze
ſept Lieues De la premiere qui eſt plaſte et baſſe bous
apparoiſſante eſtre de la grant bouse ſe nomme Trelle.
Iſlet ſamete Rachorme an nordeſt dela quelle ya hoſtel
et mamant fond enuiron bng quart de Lieue par quoy
lung fault domer Lung Lad Iſlet eſt le hable des
Chaſtenuz gſſent Nort nordeſt et ſuſnouaſt Et ne
eſtendz quinze Lieues Et dudit hable des chaſtenuz
au hable des buttes qui eſt la bouse dn nort delad
baye gſſante eſt nordeſt et onaſt ſnouaſt ya entre
doze Lieues et demye Et dung Lieue dudt hable des
buttes eſt le hable dela balaine Le traners dung hable
Granou a bouse pointe dela tranerſe delad baye ya
Trente hyet braſſes et fond de tangnuz Dudit hable
dela balaine Jusques a blanc ſablon ya Lieues

andat anaast ſnenaast et ſe ſault dennes gruede dewn
baſſe qm eſt ſne Lewa comme vng habran au ſnaſt dnel
blanc ſablon trowe Lnewes hors Blanc —
ſablon eſt vne conche au Il nya pont dabz de ſn nz
dn ſnaſt Et ya au ſnſnvonaſt dnelle conche deng Iſlez
dont Lnne a nom Lyſle du bonaye ſet Lautre Lyſle
des, anaſeaulx On Il ya grant nombre de grez et
de Kochnes qui ont leber et Les prez Rongez et hauet
dedans des pertnes ſonbz terre Comme comme dyan
double vng cap de terre qm eſt vne Lnne de blanc
ſablon ya vng hable et paſſaige Nomme Led Iſletted
qm eſt Dmillenes qne blanc ſablon Et la ſe ſault
grant peſthevne / Ondit Lieu des Iſletted Inignes
vng hable nomme / bneſt audit aut debent ya dez
Lnewes Celuy hable eſt en Empante et vng deyre
qnaventz et ingnantz emy mnmtted de latitude et en
delongitude Dempns Lieu Iſletted Inignes audit
Lieu ya Iſles et eſt Ledit bneſt en Iſles Et
danantage Wangeant La coſte aplus de troys Lnewes
hors ſont tonbez Iſles aplus dedoyz Lnewes Longes
dudit bneſt Quelles Iſles ſont baſſes et boyt ou
Les hautes terres par deſſnes

Le dyxieſme tour dudit moys de Iuigy

entramés dedans Ledit hable de bneſt o ſles ſnanires
pour anoz des eaux et, du boaye / Et pnos parez et

passez ondt Lade baye Et Le lone saint barnabe
apres La messe ouye Nous allames disner bau pres
ouldit Ledit habbe beus Lamast desconnue et beaus
gnetz habbes Et ganost Nous passames par my les
Isles qui sont en si grant nombre que merueille possible
Les seanoz nombrez qui contenment enuiron dez
Lieues ouldit Ledit habbe Nous cheuauchames en bien
dreelles Isles pour Le mieulx passez et y trouuames
en grant quantite doeufs de Canes fet ouldit
onarseaulx qui hauoient est Isles Lesdictes Isles sont
nommees Lonbes Isles

Le landemain dozeresme Nous partismes
ouldit Lesdictes Isles Et alasmes dis sez dictes Nou
troumames vng bon habbe qui est nommez saint
Antoine Et ouldit enuiron bne Lieue ou deux
nous troumames bne petite Lepmeue fort parfonde
qui a la terre au seruonaist Et est entre deux hault
teaux Et est vng bon habbe et fut plante bne croix
audit habbe et nommee saint seruan au seruonaist
dudit habbe et Lepmeue enuiron bne Lieue Lung
Isles sont comme vng sanz abreuue de plusieurs
autres plus petiz Isletz qui donne coing nostre
desdictes habbes Et bne ouldit aultre deux Lieues ya bne autre
bonne Lepmeue plus grande ou il ya plusieurs saulmons

Nous La Nommasmes La Reprueve Samet Jacques Estans
a Seville Nous apres sommes long guant Nauire qui estoit
de La Rochelle qui auoit passe La nuyt Le Hable de Boest
on Il pensoit aller faire sa pescherie et nre Seignr on
Jhz estoint Nous allames a bort / a enquerir / nos Bayonnes
Et Le mysmes dedans Ung autre Hable / a nre Ensus
plus a onaist que Lady Reprueve Samet Jacques Le quel
Je pensoye Leur dus bons Hables du monde Et Trouvay
Sont nommes Le Hable Jacques Martres Et La Trouve —
estoit aussi bonne bonne que ya bons Hables Se Seroit
Ung Bien / Mais elle ne se doibt prendre Trouve mensonge
Mais pierres et Rochiers effrables et mal Labottez
Car en tombe Lady Coste du port Je ny by bne chambre
de trouve / et Si descendy en pluisseurs Lieux Sous
ablanc sablon / Jl nya que de La moisse et de petis —
bonays aborbez fin Jusques Mynes que autrement
que est La trouve que dien donna dragn Jl yet des
grans abadz trouve qui sont assez de belles recreations —
Mais Jls sont grans effavables et sauvages Jls ont —
Leurs chemins Liez sur Leurs testes en faczon dune
Pongnye de fain tenuize / et Long selon passe pour my
en autre chosse Et y Estoit autresmes plusieurs de
onaysanbz / Jls se boyssent de pranbz de bestes tant —
hommes que femmes / Mais Leurs femmes sont plus closes
et seurees en Lieux de praye et saintes par Le
coups Jls se paingnent de certaines couleurs Sauuages

Ils ont due bougnes en quoy Ils vont par la mer qui
sont faictes diverses de bonaye de bois Et quoy Ils
presentent forme longa maxima Dominus Les anciens
veniz Tant sur que la nuyt print Leur dheminement et
quilz viennent des terres plus chaudes pour prendre
des fortz longa maxima / et au chaud chaste pour Leur vie
Le xm^e^ iour Nous Retournasmes a nostre
bougnes about pour faire boire pour ce que le temps
estoit bon - Et Lendemain xm^e^ fesmes chanter
la messe Et le Lundy xiiij^me^ appareillames dudit
bourst et fesmes la Voille sur le soir pour avoir la
congnoissance de la terre que nous y devions / aparaisant
adieu Ysles / mais grant nuyt fumes au myleu de labaye
en environ Nous congnesmes que cestoit terre ferme -
dont y avoit grosse cap / double Lun Lautre pardessus
Lautre Et pour ce les nommames Cap double -
Au pres my de labaye sondames a cent bracces et
fonz trouve / Il y a de toumoyson de bourst audit Cap
double / environ vingt Lieues / Et arimy en ung
Lieues sondames a quarante bracces Et ou trouvames Lad
terre estre grande au nordest et sueronest vingt
quatre dimet et dessus
Le Lendemain xiiij^me^ Dudit moys nous. -
sillames Le long de la Coste au sueronest vingt quatre -

dn̄ sr̄ remicon̄ hault my Lrnd̄ dampne Cap̄ doubl̄ ou ~
trouuames̄ des trees a montaignes mouk̄ haultes ⁊ ⁊
essaubles / Entre lesquelles ya vne appartenant estre
comme vne grauche ⁊ pour nommees en Lre
monks degrauches Jselles hault̄es trees et montaignes
sont hachees et coupes ⁊ ya entre elles vne Lande
des basses trees Lade ~~Lepmieu~~ Jouuene empeschant
naciones en congnoissance dault̄es trees pour les bommes
et obseruer du temps qui fera ostt̄anson Nous apuel
vne sault̄e de trees comme vne entree de Lepmieu
Entre Lesdelmons des grauches et Lng Cap qui vont
de mouuoit au sr̄ nonaste remicon trans Lrnd̄ de nord
Celuy Cap est par le hault de Luy tout Rongne ⁊
par le bas trees Leanes est apaincte ⁊ pour ce les
nommames Cap pointe / au port de Luy a vne Lrne
ya vne tsle platte

⁊ pource que bonlly mes a nous congnoissance
Direlle entree pour venir sur y auoit au lemme
bonne posee et garnie / nyssmes la bouche bas pour
la nuyt passee

L'clandemain xbij^e^ dudt moys Nous emmes
tout̄emente de vent de nordest et nyssmes au pres sur
a coupes et ala Cappe ⁊ fysmes de chemin vallant
Le sr̄ nonaste trente sept Lrnes Jusques au Jeudy matin
que nous estions les teanes dnne Cape plaine de tsle

Londres comme contenbrues Et pomon Lieu dommé
a nom Lieu coilonbrues et Labaye samet Trillaty de
La quelle Trequme along cap qui demeure an su long
quiwt dessuonarst qui sut nommé Cap Royal ya sept
Lieues Et e onarst suconarst dudit cap ya long anthre
cap qui est bien stong me pau le bas de leny et Rend
pau le gault, An nout dequel enuiron demye Lieue
ya bne Tste basse Celuy cap sut nommé Cap delatte
Entre cesty deux caps ya trouue basses pare dessous
Lesquelles y en a de monst gantbes en semblance de y emore
Empuieres / Et dedens Lieu de cap Royal ya bigne basses
de parsont et La plusgrande pescheree de grosses molues
qui soit possible / Desquelles molues en prygnues en
attendant nostre compaignon plus dun Cent en moins
dun heure

Le Landemain xbm^e^ Jour dudit moys Octobre
nous sut contraire et grant vent et Tempestueux
vers Cap Royal entre Teomues habbe ameyques
nos barques / sumes desconnow entre Ledit Cap
Royal et cap de latte et Teomuenes que pareuue les
basses trouues ya bne grande baye fort parfonde et
Tste dedens La quelle est close dentres Les sus dictes
basses trouues qui sont long rosste de Lantrow et cap Royal

L'autre 12 est basse tenue sanement en l'autre
plus dedenus l'eaue de pays plat et marnaus sone
Et au pays de l'autre y a bone ysle. L'ade bayes est
en praverie ynyt de gre et demy de latitude et en
— legt. de longitude Celuy tone pre
tronnamed habite pone pesse et femmes pone l'aunyt
alemen le cap a onaist

Dempins ledit tour trieques iii xxiii

Jone dudit more qui est le tone sant tehan emmes
toomente et bent contraire et par un tellement
que me pennes anon congnoissance de tenue trieques
endit tone sant tehan que nous emmes congnoissance du
cap de terre que nous demoncet au sinest qui se
nostre estme nous demoncet au sironaist de Cap
de gral emicon trente emy lieues Celuy tone
fist homines et mamaus tempa et me pennes —
approchee de lad tenue Et pone se que sestour
le tone monst sant tehan Les mamaus nomamed le
cap sanct tehan

L'elandenan xxb tour fist mamaus

tempa obscure et bentex et femes remouen a
onaist nouenaist parler du tone et le sou more
mysmes en trauers trieques au segond que
appareillames et lous par nostre estme estreme
au noronaist bng quart donaist dudit Cap sanct
tehan dix sept lieues et demye Et lous que

appurtenances Lendemain estoit prononciast et fyn mist
conuoy au sneschal Amyz Lenuoy et bynmes
trompes hors hostel dont grant anoy deuz petitz
et grouez comme mmeruelle tellement que possible
nest de monter dessus Cheual Lesquelles grant brug
petit fouilloit Frelon hostel aussi plaines de
onaysance que brug predechoit pm hewent andidans
dinelles hostel Dont La plusgrande estoit plaine
de mauganlz qui sont blancs et plusgrans que
orayz Et en Lambar y en auoit parcellement
en Vne quantite delle Et en Lambar plaine degoutz
et auoit grande parcellement de pl godz et de
grouz apponatz qui sont pareilz de ceulx de Liste dont
est fe danalet fenet (mencion Nous despendismes
en bas de la plus petite et grandes degoutz et de
apponatz plus de mille et en poismes en noz barques
ce que nous en voulsismes Lon grant chauge en
bue seruoit tuant Frelon barques Nous nommez
Frelon hostel hostel de mauganlz Amy Lenuoy
de pl hostel estoit Lambar hostel a onayst dellez
qui a environ deux Lieuez de long et entant
de Leste Nous y fismes post pour Lamyt pour
anoy des eaux, let du bonayse a fin Frelon hostel

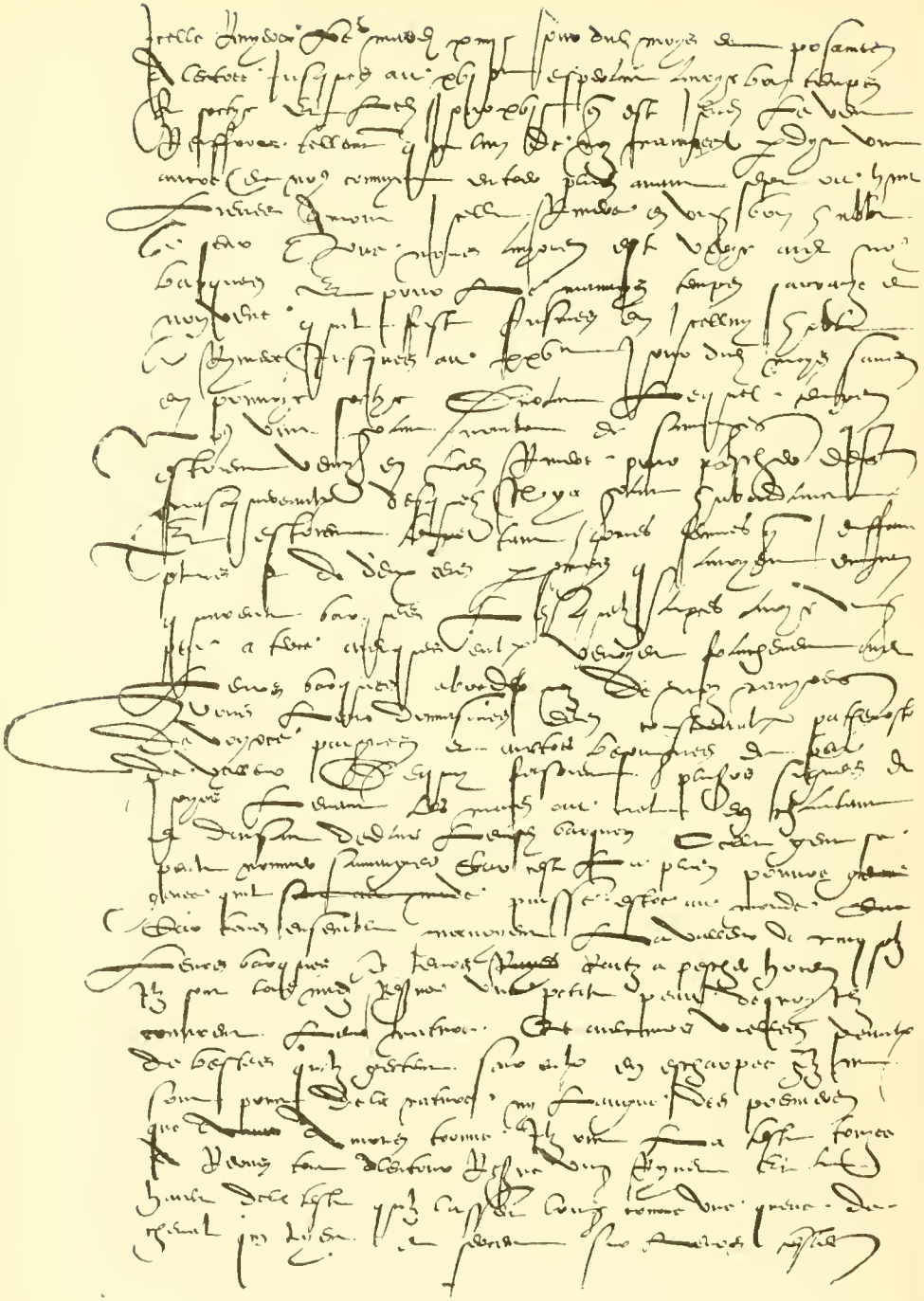
(Quatre [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[

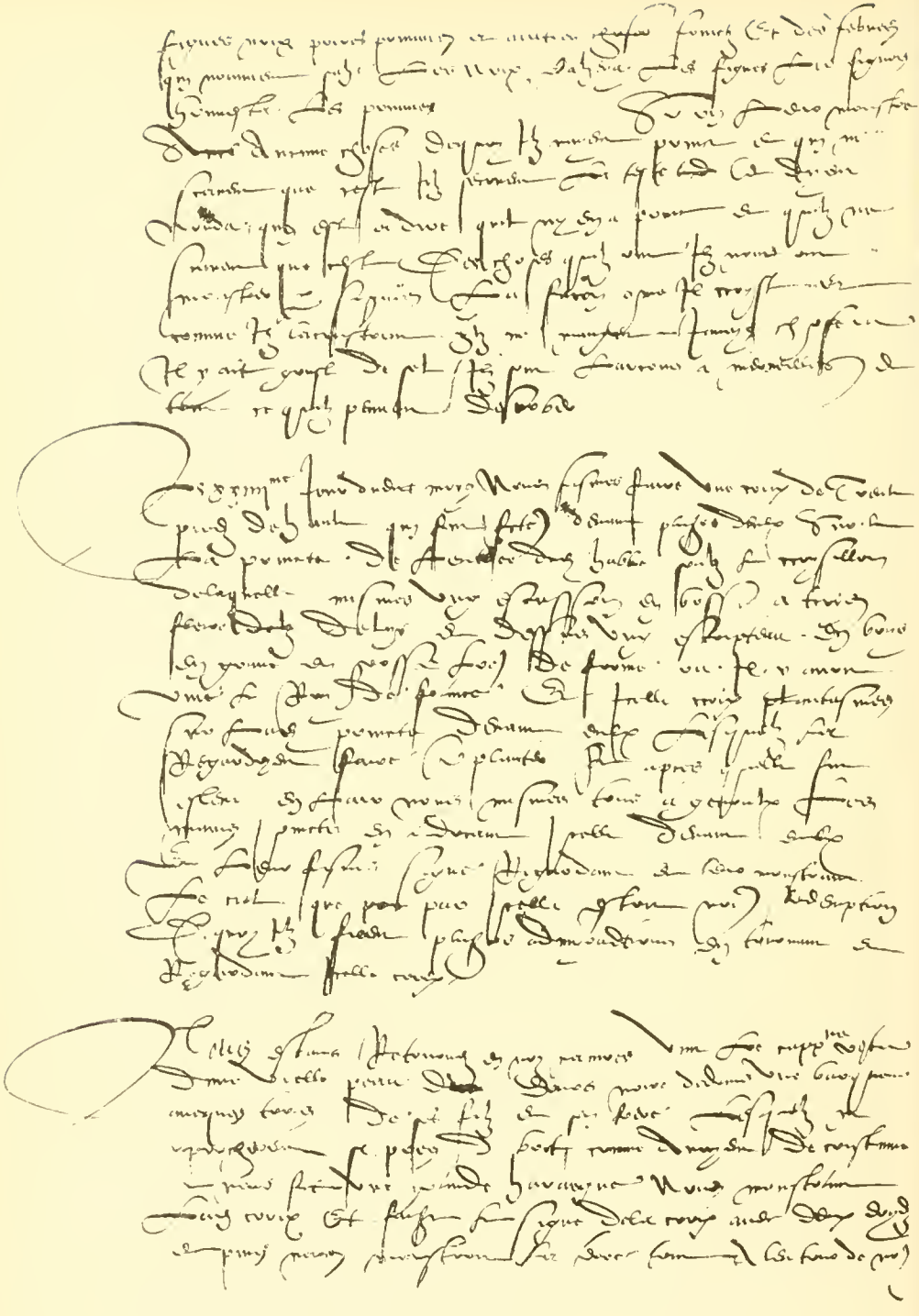
bonnes et de grande odeur et bonnes que estoient
cy dessus. Item puis entre blanc saumon, sandres et
autres plusieurs a nous estrangiers tous nobles
comme truites. Item terres en icelle nya bonnes sont
fort belles et bonnes plaines de pays gironnaiseliers
blancs et rouges fraisses framboisses et bles sauvages
comme celles qui ne semble y abonde est semé
et habonde. Cest terre de la meilleure reparde
qui soit possible de bois et de grande eschelle
et appliquee tenoyers et pumiers et autres arbres
de nature fruitz que de pommes

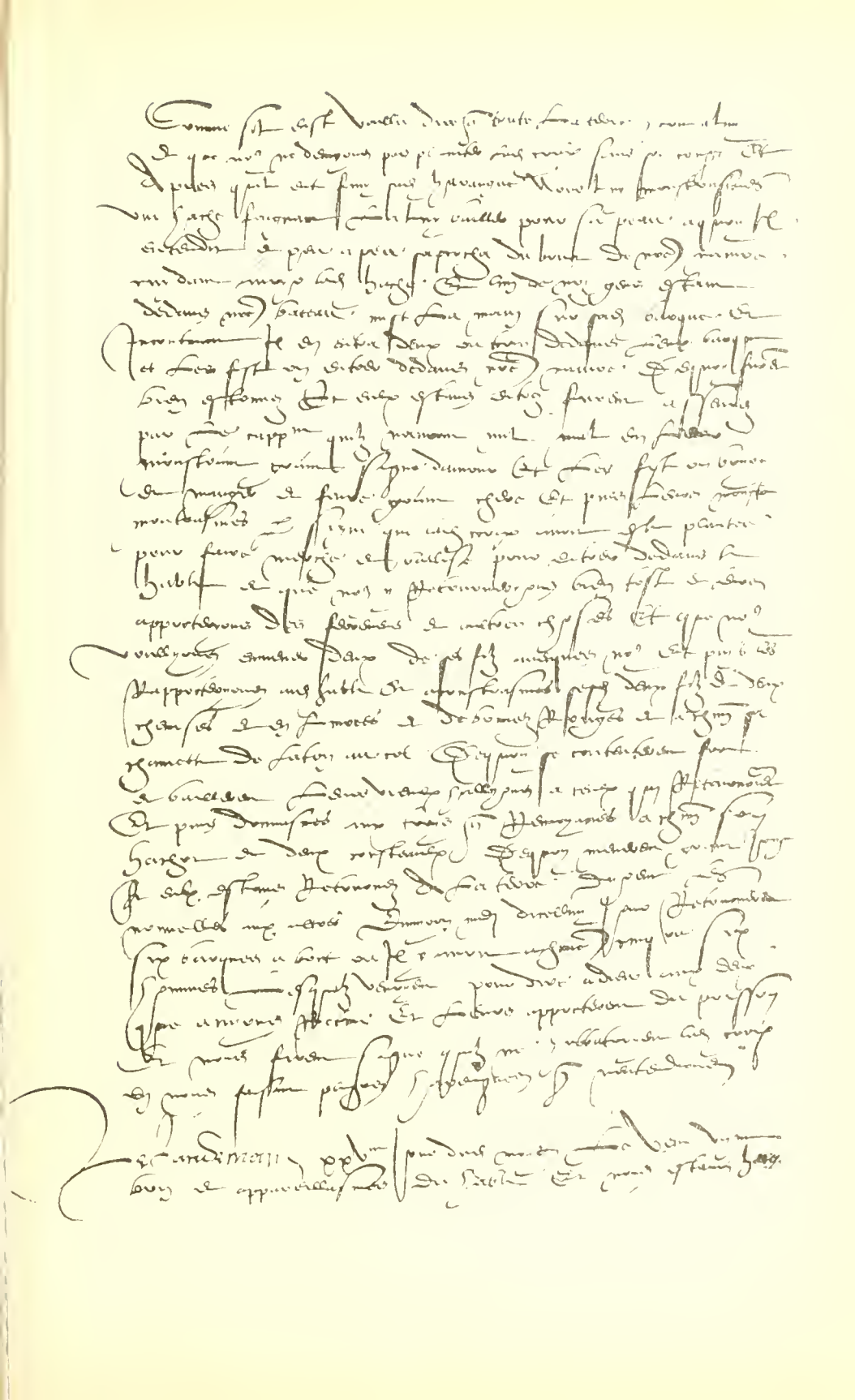
Item en la seconde fonde a fuller nous y avons
la terre ne pres de nous de nouz qui tenoit a celle
de Damart toute rouge et vignes que
est bien bonne qui a trois vignt pieds de
present et mieux. De la maison. Nous la
nous mismes la baye fut brulee. Nous fumes
en rup de deux le nort a nos habergeons
la trouvames le pays si comme que apres et bien
Lieue de terre nous y abonde que bien bruslee
de bois. Nous prodest deux rup trois sept ou
huict pieds nous demeurent bien milles
de terre et entre les deux y a bien bois en nombre
de boulges qui est bien monts profonde dun
plus loign que pressoy bons dicelle nous demeurons
au nord est et est tout toute rouge de sablons
epais comme a deux pieds et loign de terre y a
vignt brasses de profon dempuis est dentre

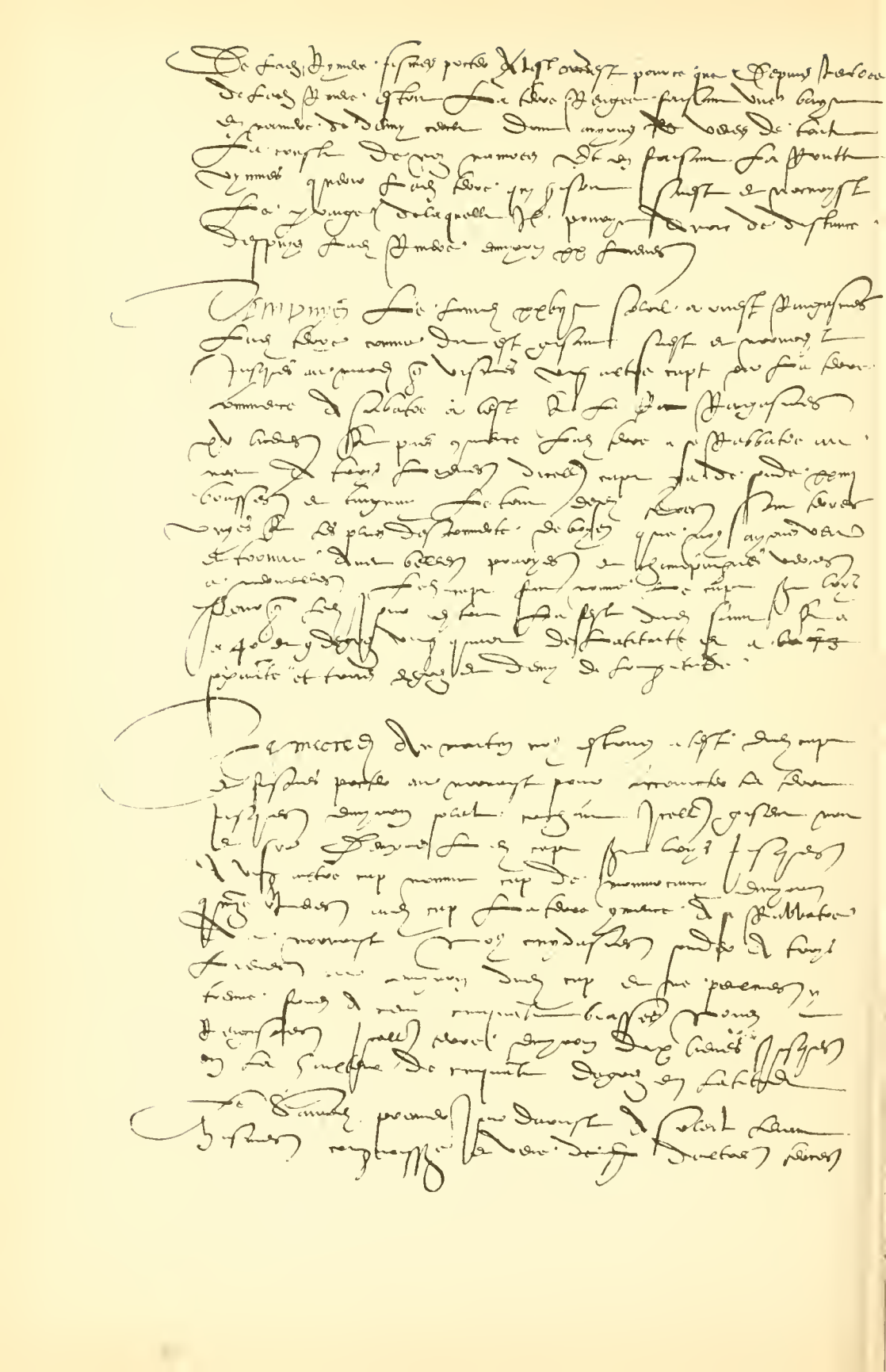
et vfas Nongat (e multas herbes de diuie et grande-
dew Norffolcie ya force belles praeries et bonnes
herbes et eftang ou le riga force Salmons et
eftur, merle, grue, cuilleus, que les gens feront
faillers aromtolw a pied Sancte foy, Ils
appellent lug harbot en Lire Langue rorh et
bug ronfteun Barby Nous nommons Lud
baye Labaye de rhodane.

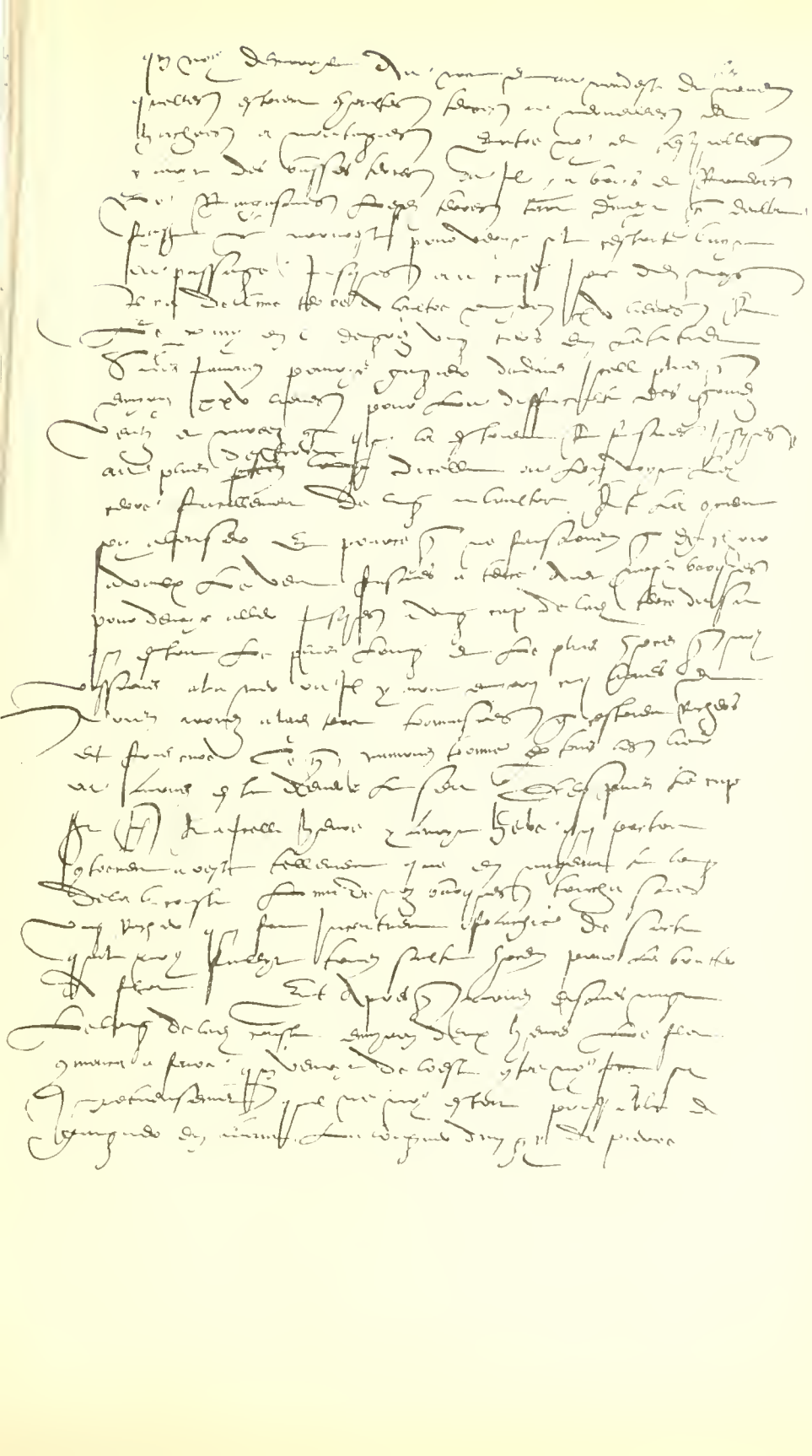
Nous eftans rertuns qu'en nr anoict paffage
Lang baye ferme bolle et agroillamyz de rorh-
Sunct marlin le dimanche vnzieme Jour de
Juillet, pone alle rhaochee et dromuez ouldo Lang
baye et ferme conuz, le left de Long de troofte
qui vint gift enuyo dromit Liemez Jufques au
cap de prallo Et la fromanice vne, mi omelette
mauoc fpelit fonth et La mee fort, mulle Et
nous romanz ftorez chere Lubo Lagrap et vne
felle qui eft deft dreby Sung vne Lieue ve
Le capo fumez Les viuez pone La nuyt Et
Le Lendemain en matin ferme bolle pone
debroie Vingt Lacoffe qui eft mort mordft
mais fe contrent tunt le vent vichoiot qui
nous rommt Richeche de fa ou nous eftions
paroiz et v ferme Le pone et La nuyt ferme
un Lundemain que ferme bolle et bonne de bruere
Dime Septembre qui eft arriu ou feyo Liemz dug
cap un mort, Et nous eftime Le trauerd dicelle
Septembre nous bnt le vent de trouue et force bruyne
et non beau et nous commit entrer de dans

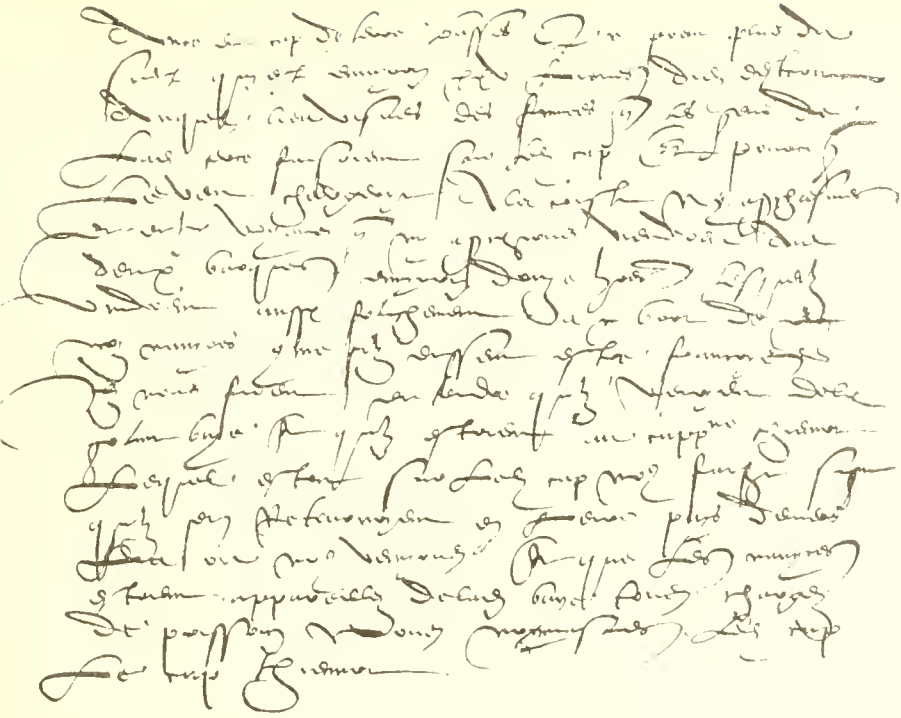


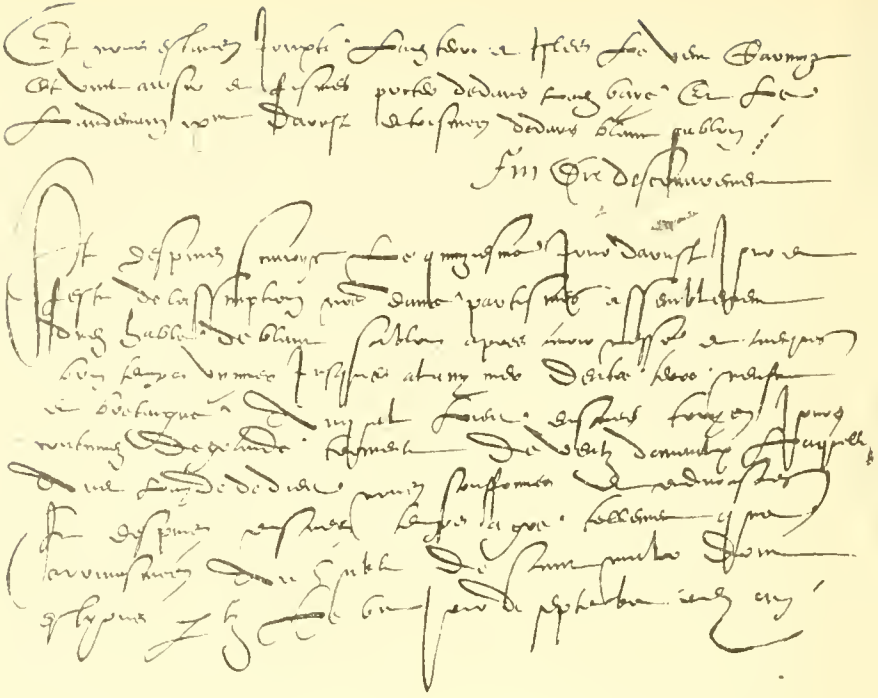












COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS
TO THE
VOYAGES OF JACQUES CARTIER

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These documents, which are of a most interesting nature to all students of Cartierian literature, comprise all that have thus far come to light relating to the subject, and are for the first time translated into English from the original French, excepting the two letters of Jacques Nouel (No. 22), which are from Hakluyt, and the five Spanish documents, Nos. 13 to 17 inclusive. Some of the passages in the French documents, couched in the legal phraseology of the time (even then antiquated), are extremely obscure, and this obscurity has no doubt been much increased by the difficulty of deciphering passages almost illegible. I trust, however, that no serious defects will be found in my translations. The five documents from the Spanish Archives, which were in part translated into French some years ago, I had translated by Mr. E. De Garmo from the original Spanish transcripts. They have been carefully compared by me with these transcripts, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing them superior to the French translation. Those, however, who are acquainted with early Spanish will, of course, prefer the original transcripts, which are to be found in "Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes," tomo i, Madrid, 1857, pp. 103–119. The volume containing them which belonged to the late Francis Parkman is now in the Boston Athenæum.

J. P. B.

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COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS

No. 1

JACQUES CARTIER'S COMPLAINT AGAINST PERSONS OBSTRUCTING THE EQUIPMENT OF HIS SHIPS

THURSDAY, the nineteenth day of March, the year 1533, before Monsieur the Accorder, present Mr. Christofle Salmon, exercising the office of procurator, present monseigneur in this town.

The said Thursday, before Monsieur the Accorder. Upon the remonstrance, complaint and petition this day made to this court by Mr. Jacques Cartier, captain and pilot for the King, having charge to voyage and go unto the Newlands, pass the strait of the bay of Châteaux with two ships equipped with sixty men for the year present, that although a part of the said ships have been delivered him to make the said voyage, he cannot do it without having mariners and seamen, which he cannot find to bargain with and hire to make the said voyage, owing to the difficulty that some have caused and daily cause him, trying to hinder the said voyage contrary to the pleasure and will of the King our sovereign lord, and likewise several citizens and merchants of this town attempting to carry away and conduct a number of ships of the said town to the said parts of Newlands for their particular profit, who have concealed and cause to be concealed the said shipmasters, master mariners and seamen, that by this means the undertaking and will of the said lord are wholly frustrated, demanding and requiring forthwith some suitable remedy of justice to be provided thereon.

Therefore, after having been by the foregoing briefly informed, power and authority, commission and especial command has been and is given to the sergeant-generals of this said court, and to each one of them, at the instance and solicitation of the said Cartier, and in the said name and authority of the said court, to make arrests upon all and each

one the ships of this port and harbor, and of all the jurisdiction, whereby to prohibit and forbid all and each one the citizens and shipmasters from causing them to remove from this said port and harbor of this town from the places where they now are, and not to cause them to voyage nor make other navigation until first the said two ships of the said Cartier and in said name be duly equipped with master mariners and seamen in pursuance of the good pleasure and will of the said lord, under penalty of five hundred crowns for each one of the said ships, and fifty crowns penalty for each one of the said master mariners and seamen; and, farther, to notify the said seamen, at the said instance and solicitation, that they will be arrested and the arrest of the said court from now placed and fixed upon their persons in the said jurisdiction.

Done by the Court of St. Malo, the xxviiith day of March, the year one thousand five hundred thirty-three; and given in order to make known to the persons of whom service is particularly required on the part of the said Cartier, and likewise, if occasion is, with sound of trumpet and public cry through this said town, at the cross-roads customary to make summonses, proclamations, and public cries.

No. 2

ASSEMBLY OF THE BURGESSES OF ST. MALO, FEBRUARY 8, 1534

Monday, the eighth day of February, the year one thousand five hundred thirty-four, at the Bay St. Jehan,[1] before my said lord the captain, monsieur the judge, M[r] Guillaume Deschamps, M[r] Pierre Le Gobien, accorder of the court of the said St. Malo.

[1] The place of assembly of the people of St. Malo was so called. Says l'Abbé Verreau: "'La baye saint Jehan' n'est pas autre chose qui l'abbaye Saint-Jean. C'etait un ancien édifice qui avait été donné à 'la noble confrérie des Frères Blancs.' Cette association religieuse, composée des principaux citoyens bourgeoise et marchands de Saint-Malo, avait été érigée 'en l'honneur de Dieu et de la glorieuse et benoiste Vierge Marie et par espécial de Monseigneur Sainct Jehan Baptiste.'"

Present: Jehan Billard, procurator; Estienne Picot, Julien Cronier, Guillaume Porée, le Boys, Jacques Chenu, Jehan Boulain, Devant Lapoupe, Guillaume Sainct Maurs, Josselin Esverard, Pierres Guyheneuc, Jehan Maingard Hupeau, Pierre Gosselin, Robin Boulain Vignecte, Jehan Esverard, Françoys Gaillard, Estienne Odiepore, Françoys Martin, Estienne Richomme, Guyon Desgranches, Robin Gaultier le jeune, Guillaume Perrinet, M^r^ Jacques Cartier, Estienne Gilbert, Jacques Martinet, Martin Patrix, Jehan Huschetel, Alain Patrix, Thomas Levrel, Yves Morel, Guillaume Maingard, Guillaume Boulain, Jacques Maingard, Julien Fertés, Guillaume Martin Lalande, Hamon Gaultier, Bertran Picot, Charles Cheville, and several others of the burgesses congregated and assembled as aforesaid.

By the said Cartier has been produced his mandate granted him by Monseigneur the Admiral of Brittany; this has been read under date of the last day of October, the year one thousand five hundred thirty-four, and signed by Philippe de Chabot and sealed.

It has been ordered that, in accordance with it, the text of it be here placed, and that it be inserted in this paper, just as it has been given to publish saving the right of others.

The text follows:

No. 3

COMMISSION OF PHILIPPE DE CHABOT, OCTOBER 31, 1534

Philippe de Chabot, Chevalier of the Order, Count of Buzançais and of Charny, Baron of Aspremont, of Pagny and of Mirebeau, Lord of Beaumont and of Fontaine Française, Admiral of France, Brittany and Guyenne, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Bourgogne, also Lieutenant-General for Monseigneur the Dauphin, or government of Normandy, to the Captain and Master Pilot, Jacques Cartier of St. Malo, greeting:

We have commissioned and deputed, commission and depute you by the will and command of the King to con-

duct, direct and employ three ships, equipped and provisioned each for fifteen months for the accomplishment of the voyage to the lands by you already begun and discovered beyond the Newlands, and in this voyage to essay to do and accomplish that which it has pleased the said lord to command and order you, for the equipment of which you shall purchase or charter at such reasonable price as you shall think advisable with the judgment of men versed in this knowledge, and according as you shall see and know to be good for the well-being of the said voyage; the said three ships you shall take, and hire the number of pilots, masters and seamen as shall seem to you to be fitting and necessary for the accomplishment of this voyage, with which things to equip, trim and fit out, we have given and give you power, commission and especial command with the whole charge and superintendence of these ships, voyage and navigation, as well to go as to return, we charge and command all the said pilots, masters and seamen, and others who shall be in the said ships, to obey and follow you for the service of the King in this as above, as they would do to ourselves, without any contradiction or refusal, and this upon pains customary in such cases to those who are found disobedient and acting contrary.

Given under our signature and armorial seal, the last day of October, the year one thousand five hundred thirty-four.

So signed, PHILIPPE CHABOT,

and sealed *en plat quart*[1] with red wax.

On the margin, Collated with the original.

No. 4

ASSEMBLY OF THE BURGESSES OF ST. MALO, MARCH 31, 1535

WEDNESDAY, the last day of March, after Easter,[2] one thousand five hundred thirty-five, at the Bay St. Jehan, before

[1] *En plat quart.* On certain instruments it was customary to use a quarter-seal, which was a quarter of the great seal. In Scotland it was called the testimonial of the great seal.

[2] "Après Pâques" in the original. The year in France at this time began at Easter; and as Easter did not fall every year on the same date, it

monseigneur the captain. Present: M. Jehan Le Juiff, lieutenant of M. the Constable of the said town of St. Malo; Jehan Billard, procurator of the said burgesses; Jn. Cronier, Jacques Chenu, Jehan Grout le jeune, Bertrand Beauboys, Pierre May, Françoys Gaillard, Jehan Maingard Hupeau, Jacques Martinet, Robin Boulain, Estienne Richomme, Guillaume Boulain Villauroux, Pierres Hamelin, Guillaume Maingard, Guillaume Pepin, Jehan Brisard lesné, Jehan Boulain Belestre, Thomas de la Bouille, Robin Gaultier le jeune, Thomas Maingard, Françoys Martin, Guillaume Grout, Boullet Souchart, Yves Morel, Guillaume Le Breton Bastille, Georges Boulain, Guillaume Sainct Maurs, Pierres Gosselin, Jehan Grout lesné, Charles Cheville, Guillaume Gaillard, Pierres Jonchée, Pierres Gaillard, Jehan de May, Pierres Colin, and many others of the said burgesses assembled.

Whereupon it was shown by the said procurator touching a proclamation which was yesterday made by Pierres Giraud, sergeant, the said sergeant being present, who confessed to have made the said proclamation which he has produced; and has said one named Jehan Poulet present has caused him to make it and no others, and which proclamation has been ordered to be inserted in this paper; and the said Bastille present, who has disavowed having caused the said proclamation to be made; and the said Poulet present, who, in virtue of the charge given him, has declared the said Cartier to have caused the said proclamation to be made.

The said de la Bouille and Maingard present, who, with the charge which Jacques Cartier has given the said Jehan Poulet, have acknowledged the said proclamation, and not otherwise.

And this Poulet has produced the roll and number of the seamen that the said Cartier has taken for the said voyage,

was of variable length. In 1535 Easter fell on the 28th of March, and the year began at that date; but the next year — 1536 — Easter fell on April 16th, so that the year 1535 had three hundred and eighty-five days, while the year 1536 had but three hundred and fifty days, — Easter the next year falling on April 1st. In the Roman calendar January and February were the first months, while in France they were the last.

and it has been placed in our hands to insert here below, and this Poulet has protested against diminishing the number of them from twenty-five to thirty and taking others at his option.

The insertion of the said masters, seamen, mariners, and pilots follows:[1]

1 Jacques Cartier, capne
2 Thomas Fourmont, M^e de la Nef[2]
3 Guill^e Le Breton Bastille, capne et pilote du Galion[3]
4 Jacq. Maingard, M^e du Galion[4]
5 Marc Jalobert, capit et pilote du Courlieu[5]
6 Guill^e Le Marié, M^e du Courlieu[6]
7 Laurent Boulain[7]
8 Estienne Nouël[8]
9 Pierre Esmery, dict Talbot
10 Michel Herué[9]
11 Estienne Reumevel[10]

[1] A facsimile of these words and the list of names following, taken from the archives of St. Malo, appears at pages 311–314.

[2] Thomas Fourmont was one of Cartier's trusted companions. He was of the parish of La Trinité de Routhan, near Rouen. He was married in 1518, "après Pâques," to Guillemette Patrix.

[3] Guillaume Le Breton Bastille, son of Guillaume Le Breton, Sieur de La Bastille, and Guillemette Yvon. He was born January 11th, 1508, and married Robine Desnos. La Bastille is near Limoilou. He died February 26th, 1540, before Cartier's third voyage.

[4] Jacques Maingard, son of Allain Maingard and Collette des Granches, born December 22d, 1498. He married Gillette Eberard. The date of his death does not appear.

[5] Marc Jalobert, son of Bertrand Jalobert and Jehanne Maingard, married Alison or, according to Abbé Verreau, Alizon des Granches, sister of the wife of Cartier, in 1528. He is known to have followed the sea until 1555. He left a numerous family.

[6] Guillaume Le Marié. The dates of his birth and death are lost. His wife's name was Perrine Ruel. One of his children, Jean, born July 19th, 1528, attained eminence as canon of St. Malo.

[7] Laurent Boulain. All that is known of him is that he had a daughter Marie.

[8] Estienne Nouël was the son of Jehan Nouël and Jehanne Cartier, the sister of Jacques. He was born August 21st, 1510.

[9] Michel Herué, son of Michel, married, in 1540, Yvonne Gravé. Of his subsequent career history is silent.

[10] Estienne Reumevel or, according to F. Juon des Longrais, Pommerel.

12 Michel Audiepore [1]
13 Briend Samboscq [2]
14 Richard Lebay [3]
15 Lucas Jacq. S[r] Fammys [4]
16 Françoys Guitault, apoticaire [5]
17 Georges Mabille [6]
18 Guill[e] Sequart, charpentier [7]
19 Robin Le Fort
20 Sampson Ripault, barbier
21 Françoys Guillot
22 Guill[e] Esnault, charpentier
23 Jehan Dabin, charpentier
24 Jehan du Nort, charpentier [8]
25 Jullien Golet
26 Thomas Boulain [9]
27 Michel Philipot [10]
28 Jehan Hamel
29 Jehan Fleury [11]
30 Guill[e] Guilbert

His wife in 1530 was Françoise Maingard, and he left a numerous posterity. The registers of St. Malo show that he was active in the life of the town.

[1] Michel Audiepore, whose name is spelled in many fantastic ways, was, according to Longrais, of Swiss origin. He married Perrine, daughter of Marc Jalobert and Alizon des Granches. He was probably quite young when he accompanied Cartier to Canada. In his later life he seems to have become a man of importance in St. Malo.

[2] Briend Samboscq. His wife was Joceline Maingard. The records of St. Malo have preserved nothing further concerning him. M. de La Borderie has the name Bertrand Samboste.

[3] Richard Lebay. Longrais reads the name Richard Cobaz, and allies him to a family of people who were seafarers and ship-carpenters.

[4] Lucas Jacq. S[r] Fammys. Longrais reads this Lucas Saumur, and it has also been read by others Lucas père S[r] Faucamps. The registers of St. Malo are silent regarding him.

[5] Françoys Guitault was not one of the apothecaries of St. Malo. He does not appear to have been a resident of the town.

[6] Georges or Georget Mabille, according to Longrais, who says that he belonged to a family distinguished from father to son as cordwainers.

[7] Guillaume Sequart. Longrais says his family came from the other side of the Rance; but, among several of the name, fails to identify him.

[8] Jehan du Nort. This name has been heretofore read Jehan Duuert; but Jehan du Nort was a carpenter of St. Malo at this time and married Henriette Bertré.

[9] Thomas Boulain. He was the son of Bernard Boulain, Sieur de La Gastinaye, and Perrine Maingard; and married, in 1517, Jehanne Chenu.

[10] Michel Philipot, son of Pierre Philipot. The registers show that he married Jeanne Le Huchestel, allied to the des Granches.

[11] Jehan Fleury. He is supposed to have been brother of Guillaume Fleury, chaplain of St. Anthoine.

31 Colas Barbé [1]
32 Laurens Gaillot
33 Guill[e] Bochier [2]
34 Michel Eon [3]
35 Jehan Anthoine
36 Michel Maingard
37 Jehan Margen
38 Bertrand Apuril [4]
39 Gilles Staffin
40 Geoffrey Olliuier
41 Guill[e] de Guernezé
42 Eustache Grossin
43 Guill[e] Alliecte [5]
44 Jehan Davy [6]
45 Pierres Marquier, trompet
46 Guill[e] Legentilhomme
47 Raoullet Maingard
48 Françoys Duault
49 Herue Henry
50 Yuon Legal
51 Anthoine Aliecte [7]
52 Jehan Colas
53 Jacq. Prinsault [8]
54 Dom Guill[e] Le Breton [9]
55 Dom (Anthoine)
56 Philippe Thomas, charpentier
57 Jacq. Duboys [10]
58 Julien Plancouet [11]
59 Jehan Go

[1] Colas Barbé, a name common in St. Malo; but the registers are silent regarding him.

[2] Guillaume Bochier or Biochet. Too many of this name appear in the registers to enable us to identify this one.

[3] Michel Eon. The registers record the birth of a son, September 18th, 1533, to Michel Eon and his wife, Hylaire Fergot.

[4] Bertrand Apuril. The name appears in the registers but once, namely, May 13th, 1570,—when he was one of the commissioners who had charge of the fêtes to celebrate the entrance of Charles IX into the town of St. Malo.

[5] Guillaume Alliecte or Allierte belonged to a family of distinction in St. Malo and its neighborhood, but we fail to identify him.

[6] Jehan Davy. His name appears in the registers on several occasions—as selling a house in 1545 and as a furrier in 1566. It is quite likely that he made the venture with Cartier to Canada to advance his interests as a furrier. In the list the name is apparently Ravy.

[7] Anthoine Aliecte or Alierte, probably a relative of Guillaume, and who married Robine Le Breton; baptized April 16th, 1529, "après Pâques." Anthoine's name in the list appears with but one *l*.

[8] Jacques Prinsault. He married Julienne Le Bret, who was of a family of some distinction.

[9] Dom Guillaume Le Breton and Dom Anthoine were probably secular priests or chaplains. Their names do not appear in the subsequent records. The latter was not completed on the original list, and is here supplied.

[10] Jacques Duboys, brother of Julienne who was the wife of Estienne Nouël, nephew of Cartier.

[11] Julien Plancouet. His wife was Jehanne Reumevel, sister of Estienne, before named.

60 Jehan Legentilhomme [1]
61 Michel Douquais, charpentier
62 Jehan Aismery, charpentier
63 Pierre Maingard
64 Lucas Clauier
65 Goulset Riou
66 Jehan Jacq. de Morbihan
67 Pierre Nyel [2]
68 Legendre Estienne Leblanc [3]
69 Jehan Pierres
70 Jehan Coumyn [4]
71 Anthoine Desgranches [5]
72 Louys Douayren [6]
73 Pierres Coupeaulx
74 Pierres Jonchée [7]

[1] Jehan Legentilhomme. All that the registers show of him is that he married Jeanne Richomme in 1518.

[2] Pierre Nyel. Longrais believes this to be Pierre Ruel, born January 12th, 1509, whose parents were Guyon Ruel and Perrine Rouxel. If so, he became allied to Cartier by marriage.

[3] Legendre Estienne Leblanc, Sieur de Bournays, who married Perrine Brisart, the date of which marriage does not appear, nor anything else relating to him but the appointment of guardians for his children, October 19th, 1542, he having died in Canada.

[4] Jehan Coumyn. His marriage to Ollive Le Breton in 1516 is all that is known of him.

[5] Anthoine Desgranches, more properly des Granches, was probably a brother of Cartier's wife. As his name does not appear in the division of the property of Catherine's father, Longrais doubts if Anthoine was her brother.

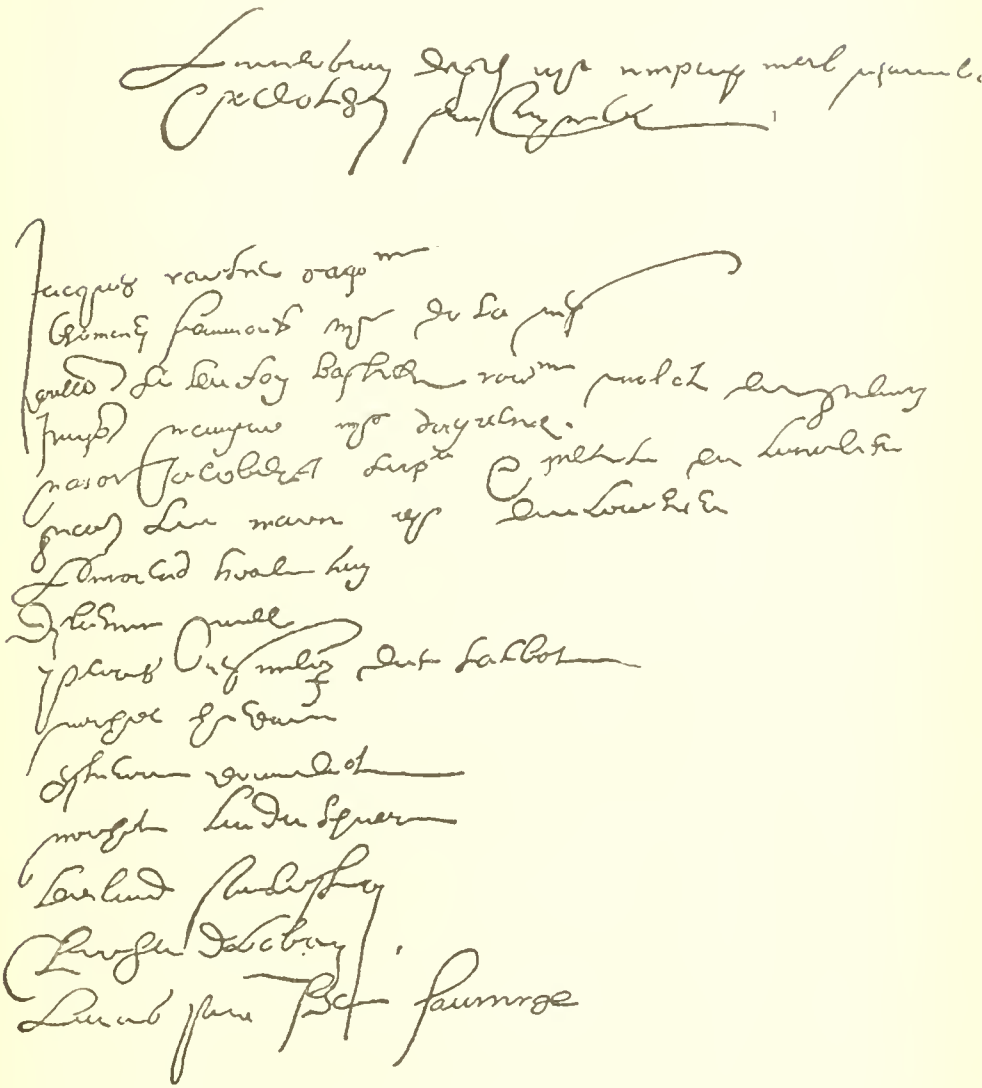
[6] Louys Douayren was a man who led a stormy life, being frequently exposed to the rigors of the law, according to the records of his time; and the good people of St. Malo probably did not regret his departure for Canada.

[7] Pierres Jonchée. Two of this name appear in the registers, which prevents us from identifying the companion of Cartier. Both were men of considerable distinction. In the list of Cartier's men at least twelve were related to him by blood or marriage.

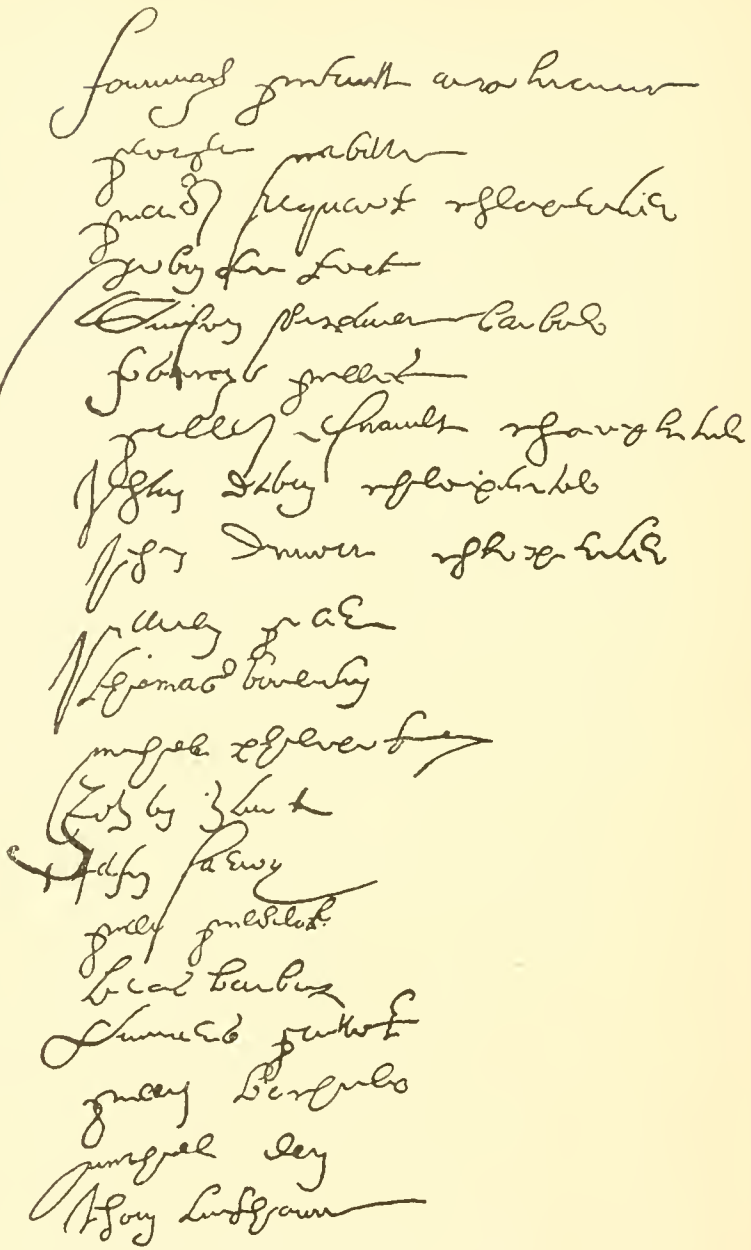
COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS

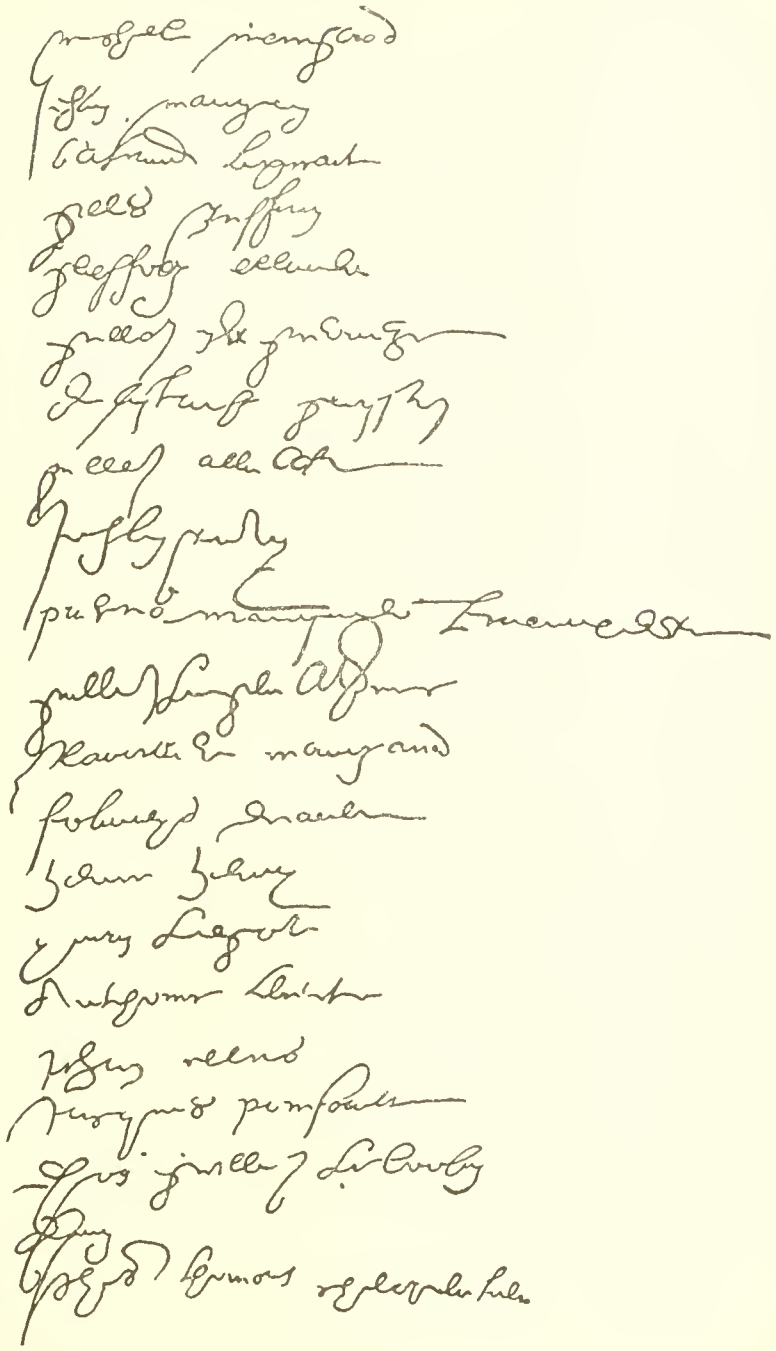
FACSIMILE OF THE ROLL OF THE CREW OF JACQUES CARTIER, PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES OF ST. MALO

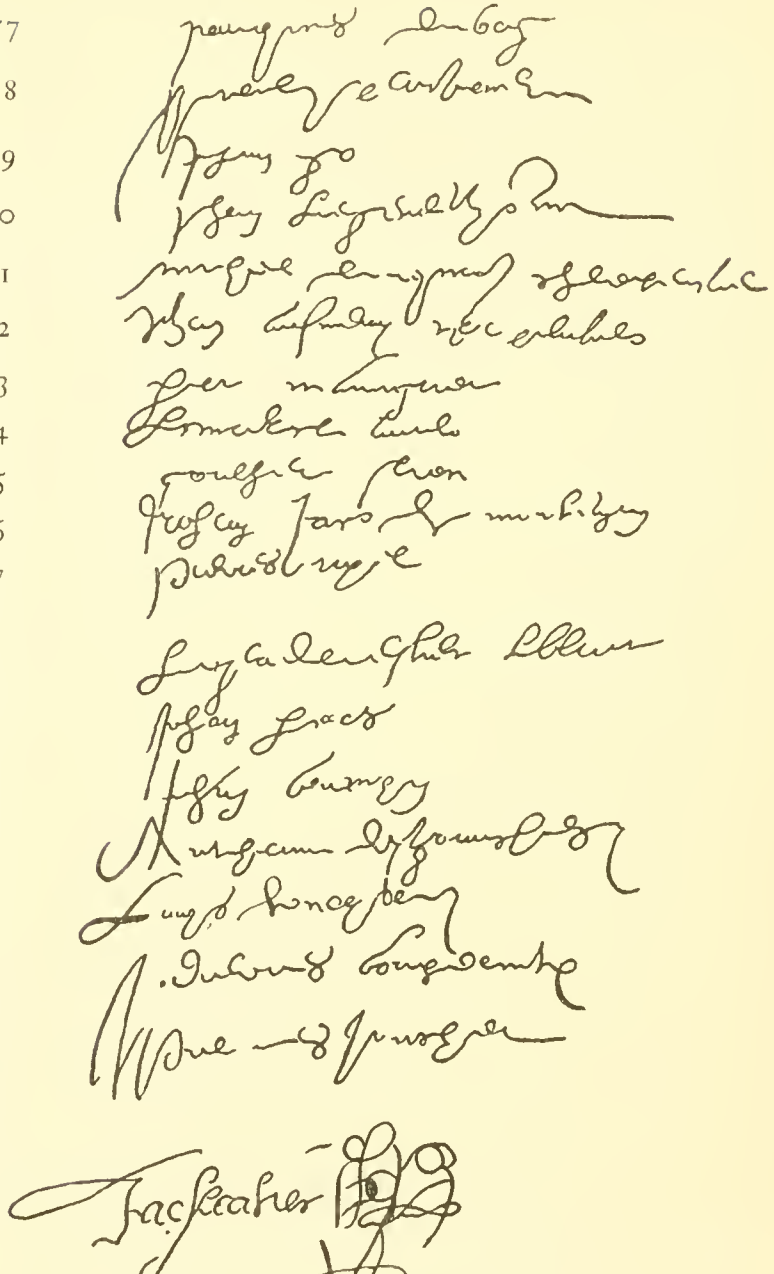
(A TRANSLATION APPEARS ON PAGES 307–310)



[1] L'insertion des Mᵉ compaignions mariniers et pilotes s'ensuyuent.







No. 5

JEHAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCQUE'S LETTERS PATENT FROM FRANCIS I, JANUARY 15, 1540

FRANCIS, by the grace of God King of France, to all those who these present letters shall behold, greeting.

On account of the desire to learn and have knowledge of several countries, part of which are said to be inhabited and others possessed by savage and strange peoples living without knowledge of God and without good use of reason, we have heretofore at great expense and outlay sent to discover into several of the said countries, by some good pilots and others, our subjects of good understanding, knowledge and experience, who from some of the said countries have brought to us divers men, and likewise among other things have made discovery of a great part of the lands of Canada and Hochelaga, and other places circumjacent, the which have been found, as has been reported to us, furnished with many good commodities, and the peoples thereof well formed in body and limb and well disposed in disposition and understanding, of which have also been brought us others having the appearance of good inclination. In consideration of which things we have considered and determined to again send into the said countries of Canada and Hochelaga and others circumjacent, as well as into all transmarine and maritime countries inhabited, not possessed nor granted by any Christian princes, some goodly number of gentlemen, our subjects, as well men of war as common people of each sex, and other craftsmen and mechanics, in order to enter further into the said countries, and as far as into the land of Saguenay and all other countries aforesaid, for the purpose of discoursing with the said strange peoples therein, if it can be done, and to dwell in the said lands and countries, there to construct and build towns and forts, temples and churches for the communication of our Holy Catholic

Faith, and Christian doctrine, to constitute and establish laws in our name, together with officers of justice to make them live according to equity and order, and in the fear and love of God, to the end that they may better conform to our purpose, and do the things agreeable to God our Creator, Saviour and Redeemer, and which may be to the sanctification of his holy name, and to the increase of our Christian faith, and the growth of our mother the Holy Catholic Church, of the which we are said to be and entitled the first son ; wherefore, to attain and finally to give better order and despatch to the accomplishment of the said enterprise, and to all things concerning it, and which depend upon it and might happen, it may be requisite and needful to depute and constitute some excellent personage of great integrity and loyalty to us, and who may be of good sense, virtue and bearing, to be chief and conductor of this enterprise, and to whom may be given by us such power and authority as such business requires, to use and generally to dispose of, in all cases and affairs presenting themselves, as shall seem to be most expedient and necessary, as we might do if we were there in person.

We make known, that on account of the good and entire confidence that we have by long experience in the person of our loved and faithful Jehan François de la Rocque, Knight, Lord of Roberval, and of his sufficient sense, loyalty, and other good and praiseworthy virtues, him, for these causes and others us moving thereto, we have made, constituted, ordered and established, do make, constitute, order and establish by these present letters, lieutenant-general, chief leader and captain of the said enterprise, together with all the ships and sea-going vessels, and likewise of all the persons, as well men of war and seamen as of others by us ordered, and who will go there in the said enterprise, expedition and army going on the said voyage, and have given and do give him full power, rule and authority, and special mandate to choose, select and take whatever shall seem to him to be proper and fitting for the business of the said enterprise and expedition, for him to place and select captains, port ensigns,

masters of ships, pilots and other men of war and marine, and these to distribute from ship to ship and place and replace them together as shall seem good to him, to command and order in our name all the said persons, and to order and dispose of their service and the form of it, and to ordain, enjoin and direct all things which he shall see to be good, useful and convenient, at all times, under our authority, power and rule, and by imposition and infliction of mulcts and penalties, as well corporal and civil as pecuniary, and as well on sea as on land, in places and parts which shall be reduced under our authority, and as well to order payments of their wages and salaries, and to increase and reduce these, and the sums which by our ordinance have been for this distributed, to extend, equalize and let run, so that if it be possible he may increase in men and equipment; and all those above said we will to pledge faith and oath to well and loyally serve us under the charge and authority of our said lieutenant-general, and whom likewise we will to understand and cause to be understood both by him and his said clerk and deputies concerning the despatch and purchase of the munitions and necessary provisions for the said army, and to the reception of these, in putting them into the said ships and vessels, and to the allotment, distribution and account of these, that there may not be in this any abuse by this clerk, and the above said ships and vessels appareled and equipped and furnished with men, victuals, artillery, and other necessaries.

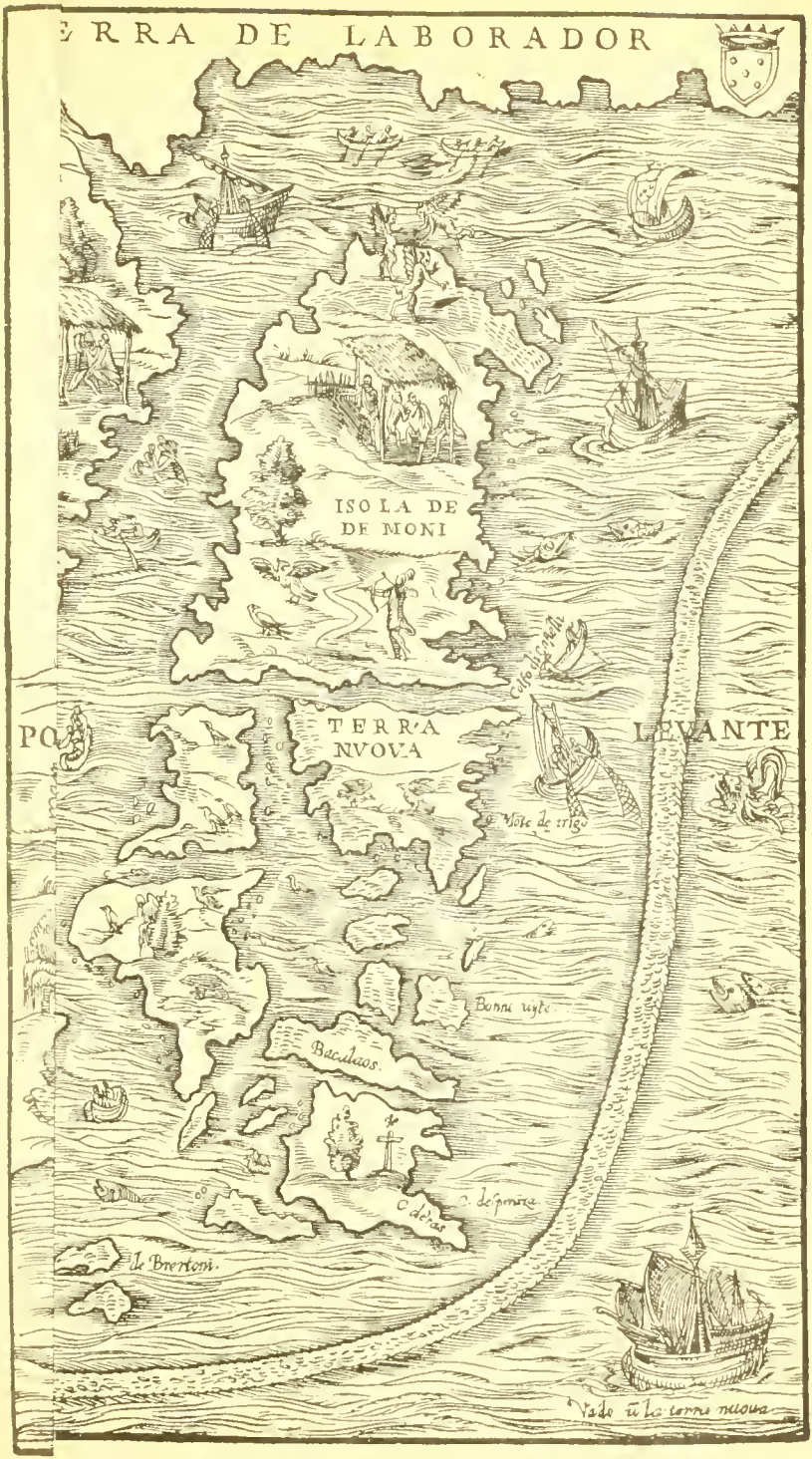
We have given and give by these said presents, power, authority, and special command to our said lieutenant-general to take, bring, and cause to depart from the ports and harbors of our realm, countries, and seigniories subject to us, and to pass and repass, to go and come into the said strange countries, to land and enter into them and put them in our hand, as much by way of amity or friendly agreements, if that may be done, as by force of arms, strong hand, and all other hostile means, to assail towns, castles, forts, and habitations, and to construct and build or have constructed and built others in said countries, and to place inhabitants therein,

to create, constitute, establish, dismiss and displace captains, justices, and generally all other officers that shall seem good to him, in our name, and whatever shall seem to be necessary to him for the maintenance, conquest, and protection of the said countries, and to attract the peoples of them to the knowledge and love of God and to settle and hold these in our obedience, to make laws, edicts, statutes, and ordinances, political and otherwise, them to increase or diminish, cause to keep, observe, and maintain by all ways and means seemly and reasonable, or other exemplary punishment, to remit and pardon misdeeds to those who shall require it, even as he shall see to be good, provided at all times that it be not in countries held, occupied, possessed, and ruled, or being under the subjection and obedience of any princes or potentates, our allies and confederates, and also of our very dear and beloved brothers, the Emperor and the King of Portugal, and finally to augment and promote the good will, courage and affection of those who shall serve us in the execution and despatch of the said enterprise and voyage, and in like manner of those who shall remain in the said lands.

We have, out of regard and love, moreover, given and do give by these presents to our said lieutenant full power and authority over these lands, that he shall have acquired for us in this voyage, according as it shall seem to him to be convenient, useful, and profitable to give, and by this to make gift of them for their successors and assigns to hold, possess, and enjoy through them in perpetuity, in all rights of property, grounds, and seizin, and estates obtained by gentlemen and other men of excellent virtue or industry in fiefs and seigniories, being holden and holding of us and giving us fealty and homage, by reason of forts and places in the localities which our said lieutenant shall order, or others our clerks or deputies in his name and in his absence and at the charge of us, to serve in the defense, instruction, and maintenance of the said countries, and with such number of men as the said fiefs and seigniories shall be charged by the said leases, and with others of less estate and condition, to such charges of annual rentals as our said lieutenant

shall think proper to the lands by their leases, payable at the places designed, and in way and manner as they shall be ordered, of which charges and annual rentals we have allowed and consented, do consent and allow them to be acquitted and exempt for the first six years, if it seems good to our said lieutenant, or other shorter time that he shall see to be feasible, except all methods of the duty of service for war, defense, maintenance, and development of the said countries; and, moreover, in order to give greater ambition and courage to the said gentlemen and others, who by war and sea more diligently and loyally serve us, we will, promise, and consent that on the return of him our said lieutenant, he may yet give and divide with them who shall make the said voyage with him, the third of all the gains and movable property accruing from the said performed voyage, and also, in return to him, another third, as well to partly supply, if it seems to us good, the capital and expenses that may be necessary for the continuation of the said voyage the space of five years ensuing, as also to somewhat recompense him for his labors and expenditures; and, as to the other third, we have reserved and do reserve this to ourselves, in order to be employed as it shall please us in several other voyages that we have hoped, and hope to make for the increase of our holy faith, or otherwise as shall be by us hereafter ordered, and wherein we intend and will our receivers or clerks to exercise diligence, approved by good and true inventory in the ports and harbors of the places in which our said lieutenant or other individuals of the said army shall make return, and therefore we desire the said army to be accompanied by several of our subjects whom we wish to profit in the said voyage; and to the end that the said country may more fully be discovered, and that moreover they may enter to make forts, habitations, and buildings in divers places of them, we have abundantly given and do give all power, rule, and authority to our said lieutenant to associate with him in the said army all gentlemen, merchants, and others, of whatsoever occupation, quality, or condition they may be, who shall desire to go, or to send to the said voyage

and country men or ships equipped and furnished at their own expense, and to join them to the said army under the obedience of us and of our said lieutenant. Which doing, a thing will be by them accomplished most pleasing to us, and which we greatly desire, and of the gain and profit accruing from the said voyage give them part and portion of it, such rights to us and to others of the said army reserved as by our said lieutenant and them shall be agreed, and for this to pass promissory letters, and upon such, by them or their attorneys, which now as at the time we hold to be acceptable, we accept, approve, and ratify the contents of them as if they were made by us in our person; and forasmuch as some under cover of our said army may undertake to enter into the passages and straits leading to the said countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, and others circumjacent, without in the meantime them joining and associating under the obedience of our said lieutenant, and to cause certain grievance, evil, or annoyance to the inhabitants of the said countries, which might be the means of alienating and diverting them from the good will and love which they might have borne us and our people who have entered into the said country, we have forbidden and do forbid all our subjects meddling with them to navigate by the passages and straits aforesaid unless they be associated and joined to our said army and under the obedience of our said lieutenant, nevertheless permitting them other navigations and entrances to lands not forbidden by us, to which going and coming we will and enjoin them in case of encounter by land or by sea, to give all comfort and aid, favor and succor, and to render obedience to our lieutenant, or others his clerks with the said army; and if heretofore we have given any letters or authority to any person contrary to the tenor of his said letters, these we have at present as at the time revoked and do revoke, cancel, and annul by these said presents, except as much and for as long as our said lieutenant may wish to tolerate and suffer them; and forasmuch as for the purpose of the said voyage and settlement of the said countries it may be needful to pass several letters and


ERRA DE LABORADOR
ISOLA DE DE MONI
TERRA NVOVA
LEVANTE
Bacalaos.
de Breton.
Vado ũ la terra nuova

contracts, we have herein approved and do approve, authenticated and do authenticate the signatures and seals of our said lieutenant and other officers in this respect by him commissioned and deputed; and considering that there may happen to our said lieutenant some sore inconvenience of sickness, and peradventure the death of the aforesaid, that it will be necessary on his return to leave one or more our lieutenant or lieutenants, we will and intend that he may nominate, create, constitute, and establish one or more of them by will or otherwise, as shall seem to him good, having equal and like power, authority, and special command, or part of it, which we have given and do give him by these said presents. And because we have not sufficient knowledge of said countries and strange peoples, in order farther to specify the power which we might desire, and it pleases us that the specifications here above declared may in no wise derogate from the general power which we have given and do give by these said presents to our said lieutenant, which is generally to dispose, do and order all things whatsoever, foreseen and unforeseen, concerning the said voyage and expedition of him, as the occasions and necessities shall seem to him to require, and as we ourselves would and could do if we were there in person, and that all this by our said lieutenant shall be done, declared, constituted, ordered, established, contracted, achieved, and composed, as well by arms, friendship and confederation as otherwise, in any sort and manner as may be or can be by reason of the said enterprise and despatch of it, as well by sea as by land, we have approved, agreed, and ratified, we do approve, agree, and ratify by these presents, and we hold and will it to be held good and available as by us done. We order and command, by these same presents, our said well-beloved and trusty chancellor, and all our well-beloved and trusty presidents and councilors of our sovereign court, lieutenants, generals, governors of our country, admirals, vice-admirals, provosts, bailiffs, seneschals, and others, our justices, officers, and subjects, as well ordinary as extraordinary, or their lieutenants, and to each of them on his own part, as to him shall belong, that our said lieutenant,

from whom we have this day taken and received by reason of the said charge of our said lieutenant-general the oath in such case provided, they make, suffer, and permit him hereby to enjoy fully and peaceably use, and by this to cause all these to obey and understand, and as it shall appertain in the things touching and concerning our said lieutenant, and to give him in every way possible counsel, comfort, succor, aid, and prison, if custom is, because such is our pleasure; and because by these presents our said lieutenant will have business in many and divers places, we will that by the duplicate or facsimile of these, made under seal royal, evidence may be adjusted, as by this present original. And to the end that this may be a thing firm and stable forever, we have caused our seal to be placed on these said presents.

Given at Fontainebleau, the fifteenth day of January, the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty and of our reign the twenty-seventh. Signed upon the fold of the said letters by the King, the Cardinal de Tournon, and we present,

BAYARD

(a sign manual), and on the fold toward the end is written the following:

Jehan François de la Rocque, knight, lord of Roberval, has given into the hands of monseigneur the chancellor the oath due and required, by reason of the rank of lieutenant-general, chief leader, and captain, of the things contained in these presents, and with the said rank and charge has been received by my said lord the chancellor, this day, the sixth of February, the year one thousand five hundred forty, me present. Signed,

SANSON

(a sign manual), and sealed *sur queue double*[1] with yellow wax. (Collated.)

From the Registers of the Court of Parliament of Rouen, with which, following the decree given by the said court, the ninth day of March, one thousand five hundred forty, on the granting of a certain petition and letters patent to the

[1] *Sur queue double*—that is, a seal pendent upon double bands.

King, presented to it by Jehan François de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, for the voyage ordered by the said lord to be made into divers countries transmarine and maritime, as well Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, as others, have been registered the letters of power given to the said de la Rocque, and other letters aforesaid, by him presented at the end of the execution of the said commission, have been extracted the letters of commission of the said de la Rocque of the form and tenor of the above transcripts.

CURZCAU.

No. 6

POWER GRANTED TO JEHAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCQUE FOR THE EQUIPMENT OF HIS EXPEDITION, JANUARY 15, 1540

To all those who shall behold the present letters, Jehan d'Estouteville, Knight, Lord of Villebon, Lagastine, Blancville, Boislandry, Prétigny, and Vientes, captain, bailiff of Rouen, councilor of the King our Sire, gentleman in ordinary of his chamber, captain of fifty men of arms of the ordinances of the King our said lord, and guard of the provostship of Paris, greeting.

We make known, that the year one thousand five hundred forty, Friday, the eighteenth day of February, we have seen, held and read, word by word, the letters patent by the King our said Lord, of which the tenor follows: Francis, by the grace of God King of France, to all those who shall behold these presents, greeting. As we have constituted, ordered, and established, do constitute, order, and establish, our lieutenant-general, chief and leader, our beloved and trusty Jehan François de la Rocque, Knight, lord of Roberval, in a certain army which we are presently to send into divers countries, transmarine and maritime, for the enlargement and increase of our holy Christian faith, and Holy Mother Catholic Church, be it known that we have given and do give to our said lieutenant full authority, charge, commission, and special mandate to provide and furnish of himself all things necessary to said army, and to

levy or cause to be levied in all parts, places, and precincts of our realm as shall seem to him good, paying therefor reasonably and as is meet, and to take men of war or artisans and others of divers conditions in order to carry them with him on the said voyage, provided that this may be of their good accord and will, and likewise also provisions, victuals, arms, artillery, arquebuses, powder, saltpeter, pikes, and other offensive and defensive weapons, and generally all clothing, instruments, and other things suitable for the equipment, despatch, and efficiency of this army; and because it suits him to have performed many undertakings and tasks in divers things, and in several places; we will and intend that all artisans and mechanics and others of whom he will have need, have to labor and work at his certain order by his clerks or deputies, paying them when the work is finished reasonably for it, and, also, all goods are to be given and delivered them before all other persons, paying for them a just and reasonable price; and, moreover, we have given and do give power and authority, by these said presents, to take or cause to be taken and selected, such number and quantity of ships and vessels by purchase, freight, or charter, and in the manner that he shall understand to be necessary to him, paying therefor by him or his clerks and deputies reasonable and sufficient hire and price, after consulting men skilled therein; and, nevertheless, we will and intend that of the said ships, boats, vessels and mariners, who by him, his said clerks and deputies, shall have been selected and chosen, no one else may draw them away, overbid them, or help himself to them in any sort or manner whatsoever, under pain of punishment as to the case belongs. All which things aforesaid, conducted as well by him as by his clerks and deputies, we will to be quitted and exempted from all rights of peage, passage, subsidy,[1] and impost. So give we command by

[1] Peage was a tax levied on foot-passengers through a country; passage, a permission to pass over sea; and subsidy, a tax by the ruler on subjects for urgent occasions.

these same presents to all our lieutenant-generals, governors of our countries, admirals and vice-admirals, bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, masters of cities, ports, passages, justices, officers, as well ordinary as extraordinary, and others, our subjects, their lieutenants, clerks, and deputies, who have to make, recover and diligently conduct and execute the above, each in right as to him shall belong, they giving all counsel, favor and aid to our said lieutenant-general, his men, clerks, and deputies, and by this to constrain, or cause to be constrained, all those who therefor shall be subject to be summarily constrained, openly without form of law, as for our great and urgent affairs, notwithstanding protestations or appeals whatsoever, which we will to be deferred; and because of these presents it will be good to have business in several and divers places, we will that by the duplicate of these, made under seal royal, testimony may be as well adjusted as by this present original; and to the end that it may be a thing firm and established forever, we have caused our seal to be placed to these presents.

Given at Fontainebleau the fifteenth day of January, the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty and of our reign the twenty-seventh.

So signed on the fold in the name of the King, the Cardinal de Tournon,[1] and you present,

BAYARD,

and sealed in yellow wax *sur queue double.*

In witness whereof, to this present transcript or duplicate, which has been collated with the original letters by Guillaume Payen and Jehan Tionne, notaries of the King our said lord, in his name ordered and established at the Chatelet of Paris, we have caused to be placed and affixed the seal of the said present in our name to and above the first named.

PAYEN. TIONNE.

[1] François de Tournon was born in 1489, and in 1507 was made archbishop of Embrun, becoming successively archbishop of Bourges, of Auch, and of Lyons. It was he who introduced the Jesuits into France. He died in 1562.

No. 7

CARTIER'S PRESENTATION OF THE MANDATE OF THE KING BEFORE THE ACCORDER OF ST. MALO, JANUARY 29, 1540

SATURDAY, the twenty-ninth day of January, the year one thousand five hundred forty, before Monseigneur the Accorder,

The said day Master Jacques Cartier has produced a mandate of the King given at Fontainebleau the twelfth day of December, signed by the King in his Council, de la Chesnaye, and sealed, which has been read and given for publication.

Tenor of the mandate produced by Jacques Cartier:

Francis, by the grace of God King of France, to the seneschal of Rennes or his lieutenant and accorder of the said place, health and greeting. Our dear and well-beloved Jacques Cartier, captain-general and master pilot of all the ships and other vessels which we directed to be sent to the lands of Canada, Hochelaga, as far as Saguenay, forming an end of the north coast of Asia, has informed and shown us, that for the forwarding of the said enterprise it is requisite and necessary to obtain a great number of naval pilots and other masters duly experienced in the practice of navigation, to conduct the said ships, to which end he has directed him to covenant and agree with several persons experienced in the said calling and sea service, who have been by certain of our subjects, as well of the town of St. Malo as other towns, ports, and havens of the duchy of Brittany, injuriously and maliciously diverted and dissuaded, whereby the said voyage, imperiled by the said great delays, is deferred against our will and intention; the said Cartier petitioning concerning this our provision, agreeably thereto. Wherefore it is, that this being considered, we order and empower you by these presents, and each one of you upon this demand, that you

inquire diligently, secretly, and fully concerning the said hindrances, malicious and injurious dissuasions, and other (things), concerning their circumstances and connections, which more fully shall be given you by writing and declaration, if need is, by the said Cartier, in order that the said information be made and reported before those of the men of our privy council, they seeing that which is of right to be ordered by them. To accomplish this we give you power and authority by these presents, order and command all our justices, officers, and subjects that in doing this they obey you.

Given at Fontainebleau, the twelfth day of December, the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty and of our reign the twenty-sixth. So signed by the King in his Council,

DE LA CHESNAYE,

and sealed with yellow wax.

No. 8

ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF PRISONERS TO JEHAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCQUE, BY FRANCIS I, FEBRUARY 7, 1540

To all those who shall behold these present letters, Jehan de Mareau, esquire, lieutenant in the ordnance, lord of Sully, warder of the provostship of Orleans, greeting. We make known that, the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty, the twelfth day of February, by François Taupitre and Claude Marchant, clerks, sworn notaries in the Chatelet of Orleans, have been seen, read, held, diligently and duly examined, several letters written on parchment, whole and entire in signature, seal, and handwriting, whereof the tenor follows.

Francis, by the grace of God King of France, to all our beloved and trusty presidents and councilors, the men holding our courts of parliament of Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen, and Dijon, and to all bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and others, our justices and officers, being under their requests and jurisdictions, or to their lieutenant-generals and private persons, and to each one of them, as to him place

and trust shall belong, greeting. For the enlargement of our Holy Christian Faith, and increase of our mother, the Holy Church Catholic, and other good and just causes us moving thereto, we have constituted, ordered, and established, do constitute, order, and establish, our beloved and trusty Jehan François de la Rocque, lord of Roberval, our lieutenant-general, chief and leader of a certain army, which we will to send shortly, and by him to be brought into divers transmarine and maritime countries, as well Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, as other countries not possessed and ruled by any Christian princes, in order to accomplish which, according to our will and intention, and to supply the said army fully, it is needful and necessary to our said lieutenant to conduct and be assisted by a great number of men practised in war, and in all other arts, crafts, and industry, and likewise some people to settle there; and on account of the long distance from the said country and the fear of shipwreck and maritime risks, and others regretting to leave their goods, relatives, and friends, fearing to make the said voyage; and, peradventure, as a number who willingly would make the said voyage might object to remain in the said country after the return of our said lieutenant, by means of which, through want of having a competent number of men for service, and other volunteers to people the said country, the undertaking of the said voyage could not be accomplished so soon, and as we desire and as it is requisite for the weal of the human creatures dwelling in the said country without law and without knowledge of God and of his holy faith, which we wish to increase and augment by great zeal, a thing, if it were not accomplished, which would cause us very great regret, considering the great benefit and public weal which would proceed from the said enterprise, and as we have enjoined and verbally commanded our said lieutenant to diligently execute our said will and intention, to depart and commence the said voyage by the fifteenth of April next ensuing, at farthest, if it can be accomplished, which may be made difficult if he be not in the said time provided and seized of all things which may be necessary

for the execution and despatch of the said voyage: in consideration of these reasons which we have undertaken in honor of God our Creator, desiring greatly and with all our heart to do the thing which may be to him pleasing, permitting, if it is his good pleasure, the said voyage to come to a good end, we desire to employ clemency in doing a merciful and meritorious work toward some criminals and malefactors, that by this they may recognize the Creator by rendering him thanks, and amending their lives, we have thought proper to have given and delivered to our said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, to the full number that he shall advise of the said criminals and malefactors detained in the jails and state prisons of our parliament, and of other jurisdictions, and such as shall seem to him, his clerks or deputies, to be useful and necessary to carry into the said country, against whom always suit may have already been made and perfected, and judgment of death given thereon, and for this we order you and each of you in his power and jurisdiction, as by him and to him shall belong, that immediately you give and deliver for the above said purpose to our said lieutenant, or his clerks and deputies, said criminals and malefactors, such as they shall desire to choose and select, condemned and judged as has been said, always excepting the imprisoned criminals to whom we are not accustomed to give pardon, and to deliver them to our new entries; and we will and command the records of the said prisoners and the causes of their imprisonment to be to our said lieutenant and to his clerks and deputies shown and communicated by the jailers and registrars, without any delay, refusal, or retardment, to the end that of those prisoners, of whatever estate, quality, or condition they may be, they may make such choice, election, or demand as they shall desire, and because there may be found in our said realm, country, and seigniories some outlaws, fugitives, and other malefactors who may be absent, we have given and do give to our said lieutenant full power and authority to take and receive, or to cause them to be taken and received, if it can be done, in order to carry or cause them to be carried into the said country under the charges,

conditions, and clemency such as we use and will to be used toward the said prisoners, with the condition, always, that all the said clerks shall be held to furnish the cost and expense of their provisions, and other things necessary to them, the two first years, and of the fare of the ships which shall carry them into the said transmarine and maritime countries, so as to cause them to be brought in safety to the ports and places from which our said army shall depart, and which cost and expense these criminals shall negotiate and adjust with our said lieutenant, or his clerks and deputies, to whom we have given and do give power and authority to do this; and we expressly charge you with the above said prisoners, outlaws, and fugitives, whom our said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, shall have taken and chosen to carry on the said voyage, to deliver or have delivered, suffered, delivered, and ordered to be delivered, replevy and deliverance of their goods taken and seized, by reason of the deeds and crimes by them committed, and not confiscated, reserving always to all the said prisoners banished and fugitives, and each of them, the interests of plaintiffs and interested parties, penalties, forfeiture by you to us adjudged, and yet without delaying for this to make deliverance of their persons into the hands of our said lieutenant, his clerks or deputies, and considering that the time is short for the departure of our said army, the said prisoners and malefactors should employ their relatives and friends to assist and aid them more promptly to furnish and accomplish that which above is shown them, the clemency of which we use, commuting the penalty of death into an honest and useful voyage, with the condition that when the said prisoners return home again from the said voyage without express permission from us, they shall be executed in the place in which they may have been condemned, immediately and without hope of pardon; reserving to us always hereafter to give them pardon for the said voyage, after they shall have served in it according to the duty which they shall have rendered to it, following the report which we will to be made us by our said lieutenant, or others, captains, gentlemen, and men of honor of the said

army; and in order to carry and cause to be carried and to conduct the said persons into the places from which our said army shall depart, we will and intend comfort, favor, and aid to be given by all our justices, officers, and subjects to our said lieutenant, his clerks or deputies, and prison, if need be, the number of whom to carry and conduct into the said ships we will to be known and received by our commissioners, to enjoin or be enjoined, in order to receive the oath of those who shall go on the said voyage, to the end that hereafter they may be understood by us when it shall please us; and of the number who shall be found by them, or, in their absence, by our officers and judges of the places from which our said army shall depart, we will our said lieutenant to be acquitted and discharged, do acquit and discharge, and of all that which by reason of them may be demanded of him; so we order, very expressly charge and command you by our absolute power and royal authority, and to each of you as right shall to him belong, which to accomplish and to do all things without hindrance and delay, do ye obey and cause to obey our said lieutenant, his clerks or deputies, and to keep and observe these closely, imposing thereon perpetual silence by all our attorney-generals and specials, present and to come, because all the things aforesaid we will, intend, and it pleases us so to be done, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal whatsoever made or to be made, relieved or to relieve sentences and arrests which may be given against the said criminals, ordinances, mandates, restrictions, or prohibitions, and letters to the contrary, to whom we have derogated and do derogate by these presents for this time only, and for which we wish not to be delayed; and because by these presents our said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, will have business in many and divers places, we will that by the duplicate or copy of these, made under seal royal, evidence may be regulated as by this present original. Given at Fontainebleau, the seventh day of February, the year one thousand five hundred forty, and of our reign the twenty-seventh. So signed in the name of the King in his Council,

BAYARD,

and sealed with yellow wax, *sur queue simple*, with the seal apparent. In witness whereof, we, by the relation of the said notaries, have caused these presents to be sealed with the royal seal, with the contracts of the said present collation, which were made the year and day first named.

F. TAUPITRE. C. MARCHANT.

Endorsed, " Duplicate of the power given by the King to the Lord of Roberval."

No. 9

POWER OF ATTORNEY TO PAUL D'AUXILHON, FEBRUARY 27, 1540

To all those who shall behold these present letters, Jehan d'Estoutville, Knight, Lord of Villebon, Lagastine, Blancville, Boislandry, Prétigny, and Vientes, captain and bailiff of Rouen, counselor of the King our Sire, gentleman in ordinary of his chamber, captain of fifty men of arms or the ordinances of the King our said lord, and established by him in his Chatelet of Paris, was present in his person the noble lord Messire Jehan François de la Rocque, Knight, Lord of Roberval, lieutenant-general for the King our Sire in a certain army ordered by the King our said lord, to be raised and led, this present year, for the increase of our Holy Christian Faith into divers transmarine and maritime countries, not occupied, possessed, and ruled by any Christian princes, as well into Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, as others, the which knight, in virtue of the power given and granted him by the King our said lord, has had named, appointed, and deputed, and by these presents does name, appoint, and depute, his attorney-general and special, Paul d'Auxilhon, nobleman, lord of Sainterre in the seneschalship of Carcassonne, and living in the said place of Sainterre, to whom he has given and does give by these said presents full power, dominion, authority, and special mandate, for and in his name to be and to appear for him in judgment, and further to present himself in all courts, and before all judges to represent his person, to excuse, examine his causes, and maintain justice; to prosecute and defend, to plead for him or to under-

take pleas, to carry them on and bring them to a conclusion; in fine, to hold court and jurisdiction, and to accept the same, if custom is, to take all oaths that the order of the law teaches and prescribes, to ask and to accept all postponements; in short, to take the care and burden of guaranty, to be joined in all proceedings, to have made and to petition all postponements of causes, to select domicile, practise vigilance in all places and oppose the obtaining of places in all cases and to all ends; to make and to have made all citations and indictments, to demand requests and decisions, present all letters granted by the said constituent, or to grant and to demand the granting of them; to have all arrests made, to have and to bring to a conclusion all manner of complaints, to produce and see witnesses sworn, to summon the opponents of all complaints and sentences, to remove, prosecute, or name in their place, if need be, and to substitute other attorneys, one or several, that he or they may have the power of the aforesaid or a part of them, and to revoke them if it seems good to them, these presents remaining in their force and virtue; and moreover, and especially of himself, to appear by and before all judges, bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, justices, and officers of the King our said lord, being within the jurisdiction of the seneschalship of Carcassonne, Castres, justices and jurisdictions of Béziers, Narbonne, Alby, Lymous, Allet, and the country of Sault, or their lieutenant-generals, or private individuals, and to each of them as the case and place shall require, and likewise to introduce and make known to them the contents of certain letters patent of the said Lord King, or the facsimile of the said letters patent, given at Fontainebleau in the King's name to the said constituent, and signed, Bayard, Monday, the seventh of this present month of February, and sealed *sur queue simple* with yellow wax, of which the facsimile of the same has been delivered to the said d'Auxilhon in virtue of the same and of these presents, to demand, release, take, draw, and remove from prisons the persons who shall be selected and chosen by the said d'Auxilhon with the consent of those prisoners within the said seneschalship of

Carcassonne, and generally in all the ancient jurisdictions, towns, and cities of the said seneschalship of Carcassonne, of whatever state, quality, or condition that the said prisoners may be, and with the aforesaid to take and receive the outlaws and fugitives of like condition, to manage, treat, and arrange with the said prisoners, fugitives, and outlaws about their expenses, transportation, conduct, and other things necessary to them for the space of two years, according to the price which the said d'Auxilhon shall see to be reasonable, having regard to the position and criminality of the said prisoners, fugitives, and outlaws, all aforesaid, according to and following the said letters patent of the said Lord King; and besides to him, the said constituent, he gives power, authority, and especial mandate to receive the amounts which the said agreements shall exhibit, and to sign for acquittance in the name of the said constituent, and of which prisoners by him thus elected and chosen, the said d'Auxilhon at this present time has promised he will be holden, and promises by these presents to take and require good and sufficient bail, duly certified, to have them brought and conducted under good and safe guard, at their expense, from the places where they shall be taken to the prisons of St. Malo de l'Isle in Brittany, and this by the tenth day of the month of April next to come into the hands of the said Lord of Roberval, or his clerks and deputies for that purpose, and to render or bring to them or to him to the said place the latest comers by the said agreements, within the said time, the names and surnames of which prisoners, their former abodes, the place and jurisdiction where they shall have been taken, the bailiffs or others whom it shall concern, shall be written on the back of these presents, and in this manner by this d'Auxilhon their discharge shall be given to the jailers of the prisons from which the said prisoners shall be taken; and after having delivered the said prisoners to the said place of St. Malo, as has been said, the said constituent has given power to said d'Auxilhon to agree that the sureties, certificates, and conductors for this given may be discharged, and the said constituent has also given to the said d'Auxilhon all power, direc-

tion, authority, and commission in that which concerns and which may concern the case of the said prisoners alone, the appurtenances and dependencies of them, that he has and would have if he were present in person, although the case requires more especial mandate respecting the aforesaid conditions as well in virtue of the said present letters heretofore declared, as the other two letters of power and authority given at Fontainebleau the fifteenth of January, signed Bayard, and sealed *sur queue double* with yellow wax; and likewise with power to grant the said presents to visit, request, and demand the said prisoners by others as by him, unless the clerks and deputies of the said d'Auxilhon may be able to enter into terms with the which prisoners to draw them out of the said prisons, and generally, moreover, to do all that has been said, and which depends upon it, as much as, and as the said lord constituent would do and could do if present in his person, although it may be that the case requires more especial mandate, promising the said lord constituent in good faith under pledge and obligation of all and each his goods, real and personal, present and to come, wheresoever they may be, to hold at his good pleasure firm and stable forever, all which by his said attorney shall be done, declared, proved, and accomplished in that which is said and which depends upon it, and to pay the judge if it is customary. In testimony of this, we, with the collation of the said notaries, have caused the seal of the said provost of Paris to be placed to these presents, which were made and passed the year one thousand and five hundred forty. Sunday, the twenty-seventh day of February.

MONTESSE. CHENU.

No. 10

EXTRACT FROM THE PARLIAMENT REGISTERS, MARCH 9, 1540

EXTRACT from the registers of the court of parliament on the petition presented on the part of Jehan François de la Rocque, Knight, Lord of Roberval, lieutenant-general, chief and leader of the army ordered by the King to be raised to send into

divers countries, transmarine and maritime, as well Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay as others, for the enlargement of the Christian faith, to which countries the King desires and intends some places and forts to be built, and to be placed and left there a number and quantity of persons, without which it would be difficult to find men who would be willing to settle and remain there after the return of the said Roberval, holding the same of Roberval by his said petition, and which, in compliance with the contents of the letters patent by the King given at Fontainebleau the seventh day of the month of February last past, by which the said petitioner making appearance by the duplicate, under the seal of the Chatelet of Paris, declaring the original to have been sent to the parliaments of Toulouse and Bordeaux, deliverance to be made to him, or his clerks and deputies, of prisoners, appellants, or persons condemned to death, whom he shall require, and others who voluntarily would go on the said voyage, whom it is customary to deliver to the new entries of the King, and state prisons and jails to be opened to the said petitioner and to his said clerks, in order to speak to the said prisoners, to choose and select them, and the records to be communicated to him, referring also by his said petition to the granting of other letters patent, given at Fontainebleau the fifteenth day of January, also last past, the first containing the commission and power given to said petitioner to the said rank of lieutenant-general, chief, leader, and captain of the said enterprise, the others containing the power given to the said petitioner to provide and furnish all things necessary to the said army, and to raise or cause it to be raised in all parts, places, and precincts of this realm, as shall seem good to him, paying reasonably for it, and as is proper, and also with power to take men of war or artisans and others of divers conditions to carry with him on the said voyage, providing that it be with their good pleasure and will, and also power to take provisions and victuals, arms, and other things serving for the equipment, despatch, and efficiency of this army, and that all artisans, mechanics, and others of whom he shall have need, have to labor and work at his certain command, by his clerks or deputies, paying them when the

work is finished reasonably for it, and all goods are to be given and delivered them before all other persons, paying for them a just and reasonable price, with power to take or cause to be taken and selected such number of ships, boats, and vessels, freight or charter, and of mariners, which the said petitioner shall understand to be necessary to him, paying for them reasonable hire and price, and sufficient in the opinion of men skilled therein, and without any other being able to draw away, overbid, or avail himself of the said ships, vessels, and mariners, which by him or his said clerks shall have been selected and chosen, upon such punishment as to the case shall belong, and all things above said to be quitted and exempt from all rights of peage, passage, subsidy, and impost. The said petition examined by the court, the reply to it by the attorney-general of the King, to whom by order of this court the whole has been shown and communicated, the duplicate of said letters given at Fontainebleau the seventh day of February, the said letters of commission and others of the said letters the fifteenth day of January, all in this year one thousand, five hundred and forty.

It is declared that the said court, in regard and consideration of the contents of the said letters and petitions, and for other just and reasonable causes and considerations thereto it moving, them have granted and do grant, and, doing this, have ordered and do order that the prisoners being in the prisons of the said country of Normandy, together with the other malefactors and men of the character comprised in the said letters, saving and excepting the prisoners who shall be held in cases and crimes of heresy and high treason in the first degree, of counterfeiting money and other too monstrous cases and crimes, shall be given and delivered to the said petitioner and to his clerks and deputies, the officers of the King called as for this to the places, showing previously being made by the said clerks of the power that they have from the said Jehan François de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, and by leaving with the registrars or keepers of the prisons, respectively, certification of the persons that they shall have taken therefrom, and also with the charge to deliver by certificate and attestation to the proper judges of the places where the said pris-

oners shall be embarked, or to other commissioner deputed thereto by the King, the names and surnames as well of the said prisoners as of the outlaws, fugitives, and other malefactors, if any of them were taken by the said Lord of Roberval, or his clerks, or if any had been received by him in order to make the said voyage, with the charges contained in the said letters, and of which prisoners and other malefactors so delivered it is ordered that a list be made and retained by the above said judges, who are ordered to give and cause to be given obedience and assistance to the said petitioner, and his said clerks and deputies, and to have this permitted and complied with, so as to have the things contained in the three letters above mentioned given and delivered to them, paying therefor reasonably, the whole according to the contents herein.[1]

Declared at Rouen, in the said court of parliament, the ninth day of March, the year one thousand five hundred forty. So signed, SURREAU

(a sign manual).

Collation made with the original by me, notary and secretary of the King, the IIIIth day of April, the year one thousand five hundred forty, on Easter Sunday.

DUCODRAY.

[1] Of these criminals there arrived at St. Malo, May 9th, 1541, eight men and five women whose names have, strangely enough, escaped oblivion. They were brought to the port in the *Little Greyhound* of Dieppe (Captain Jacques Mareschal), and were taken to the place assigned them, fastened to a chain, under the charge of Jailer Gaillart. They were as follows: Lorans Bonhomme of Merville, age 25; François Gay of St. Leonard, age about 27, and Mondyne Boyspye, his affianced, age 18; Pierre Thomas of Vauzelle, age 45 (Thomas was one of the guards, and was attached to the chain because one of the prisoners, named Barbery, escaped from him); Jehan de Lavau of Grenade, age 35; Cassette Chapu of Toulouse, age 40; Bernard de Mirepoix of Roudés, age 30; Pierre le Canbegeur of L'Isle-en-Dodon; Anthoinette de Parradis of Toulouse, age 25; Je hanne de la Veerie, age 30, wife of Pierre de la Ferye of Toulouse; Mariette de la Tappye of Muret, age 40; Pierres, from vicinity of Castlenau, who had been condemned to decapitation; Pierre Esteve de Montgaillard. All these had had various experiences in life, and some had committed serious crimes. François Gay and the young girl affianced to him have been mentioned in a previous note.

COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS

No. 11

JACQUES CARTIER'S COMMISSION FROM FRANCIS I, OCTOBER 17, 1540

Francis, by the grace of God King of France, to all those who these present letters shall behold, greeting. With the desire to hear and have knowledge of several countries said to be inhabited, and others to be possessed by savage peoples living without knowledge of God and without use of reason, we have heretofore at great cost and outlay sent to discover into the said countries several good pilots and others, our subjects of good judgment, knowledge and experience, who from those countries have brought us divers men, whom we for a long time have kept in our kingdom, having them instructed in the love and fear of God, and in his holy law and Christian doctrine, with the intention of having them go back into the said countries in the company of a goodly number of our subjects of good intention, in order the more easily to lead the other people of those countries to believe in our holy faith.

And among others we have sent there our dear and well-beloved Jacques Cartier, who has discovered the large countries of Canada and Hochelaga, making an end of Asia, on the western side, which country he found, as he reported to us, furnished with many good commodities, and the people thereof well formed in body and limbs, and well disposed in spirit and understanding, of whom he likewise brought us a certain number, whom we have for a long time supported and instructed in our holy faith[1] with our said subjects, in

[1] Donnacona, Dom Agaya, and Taignoagny were baptized, as appears by the registry of St. Malo. Donnacona, being the so-called king of the savages, was doubtless named François for the King. The following is a translation of the entry in the registry: "This day, Notre Dame, xxvth of March, the year one thousand five hundred thirty-eight, were baptized three savage men from the parts of Canada, taken in the said country by the honest man Jacques Cartier, captain for the King our Sire for the discovery of the said lands. The first was named Charles by the venerable and dis-

consideration of which and seeing their good inclination, we have considered and decided to send back the said Cartier to the said country of Canada and Hochelaga, and as far as the land of Saguenay, if we can reach there with a good number of ships and of our said subjects of good intention and of all conditions, arts and industries, in order to enter further into the said countries to converse with the said peoples thereof, and, if necessary, live with them in order to accomplish better our said intention, and to do a thing agreeable to God our Creator and Redeemer, and which may be for the promoting of his holy and sacred name, and of our mother the Holy Catholic Church, of which we are called and named the first son.

WHEREFORE, it being necessary for the better order and expedition of the said enterprise to appoint and establish a captain-general and master pilot of the said ships, who may have regard to the management thereof, and the people, officers and soldiers, ordered and established there, be it known, that we, with full confidence in the person of the said Jacques Cartier, and in his judgment, ability, loyalty, integrity, bravery, great diligence and valuable experience, for these and other reasons thereto moving us, have made and constituted, ordered and established, do make, constitute, order and establish him by these presents captain-general and master pilot of all the ships and other vessels ordered by us to be used for this undertaking and expedition, for the said position and charge of captain-general and master pilot of those ships and vessels, to have, hold and use by the said Jacques Cartier, with the honors, prerogatives, preëminences, franchises, liberties, wages and benefits

creet master Charles de Champ-Girault, dean and canon of the said place, principal sponsor; and secondary sponsor, Monsieur the Lieutenant Seigneur de la Verderye; and godmother, Catherine Des Granges. And the second was named François, the name of the King our Sire, by the honest man Jacques Cartier, principal godfather; and secondary godfather, Master Pierre Le Gobien; godmother, Madame the Lieutenant Seigneur de la Verderye. The third was named ——— by Master Servan May ——— of the said place; and secondary godfather, Jehan Nouël; and godmother, Guillemette Maingard."

such as by us shall be given him for this order, so far as it shall please us, and we have and do give him power and authority to employ, establish and appoint to the said ships such lieutenants, masters, pilots and other necessary officers for the government and management thereof, and in such numbers, as he shall see and think needful and necessary for the welfare of the said expedition.

So give we order by these said presents to our admiral or vice-admiral, that having taken and received from the said Jacques Cartier the proper and customary oath, they put and install him, or have him put and installed in our name in possession and seizin of the said position of captain-general and master pilot, and together with it, of the honors, prerogatives, preëminences, franchises, liberties, wages and benefits, such as by us shall be ordered him therefor, making, permitting and leaving him to enjoy and use freely and peaceably and to be obeyed and listened to by all, and as it shall be meet in the things touching and concerning the said position and charge; and, moreover, to allow and permit him to take the little galleon, called *l'Emerillon*, which he now has of us, the which is already old and rotten, in order to serve in repairing those of the ships which shall have need of it, and which we wish to have taken by the said Cartier and used for the purpose aforesaid, without being obliged to render any other account of it nor of the residue, and from which account and residue we have discharged and do discharge him by these presents, by which we also command our provost of Paris, bailiffs of Rouen, of Caen, of Orléans, of Blois and of Tours, seneschals of Maine, of Anjou and Guienne, and all our other bailiffs, seneschals, provosts and allowers and others, our justices and officers, as well of our said realm as of our country of Brittany united to it, with whom are any prisoners accused or convicted of any crimes, whatsoever they may be, except the crimes of heresy and high treason divine and human toward us, and makers of false money, that they forthwith deliver, render, and give into the hands of the said Cartier, or his clerks and deputies bearing these presents, or the duplicate

of them, for our service in the said enterprise and expedition, those of the said prisoners which he shall consider to be fit and capable for service in this expedition, to the number of fifty persons, and according to the choice that the said Cartier shall make of them, those first judged and condemned according to their demerits and the gravity of their offenses; if they have been judged and not condemned, and if satisfaction also previously decreed the plaintiffs and parties concerned yet had not been made, for which cause, however, we do not desire the delivery of their persons into the hands of the said Cartier, if he finds them fit for service, to be delayed nor kept back, but the said satisfaction shall be taken upon their goods only, and which delivery of the said prisoners, accused or prosecuted, we wish to be made into the hands of the said Cartier for the purpose aforesaid by our said justices and officers respectively and by each of them within their charge, authority and jurisdiction, notwithstanding oppositions or appeals whatsoever made or to be made, taken up or to be taken up, and so that by these means the delivery in the manner aforesaid may in no way be deferred; and in order that no greater number of them be drawn than the said fifty, we will that each delivery made by our said officers to the said Cartier be written and attested in the margin of these presents, and, moreover, that registry of them be made by them and forthwith sent to our loved and loyal chancellor, in order to make known the number and quality of those who shall have been thus given and delivered. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof we have caused our seal to be affixed to these said presents. Given at St. Pris, the seventeenth day of October, the year of grace one thousand five hundred and forty, and of our reign the twenty-sixth.

So signed on the fold by the King, Monseigneur the Chancellor, and others present, DE LA CHESNAYE,

and sealed upon the said fold *à queue simple* of yellow wax.[1]

[1] *À queue simple* or *sur queue simple*—that is, a seal appended to a corner of the parchment.

To which letters are attached, under counter-seal, other letters patent, of which the tenor follows:

Henry, elder son of the King, Dauphin of Viennois, Duke of Brittany, Count of Valentinois and of Diois, to our loved and loyal people of our council and chancellery, seneschals, allowers, lieutenants, and to all our other ministers of justice and officers in our said country and duchy, greeting. We command you that, following the contents of the letters patent of the King our very honored lord and father, given in this place of St. Pris, the seventeenth day of this present month, to which these presents are attached under the counter-seal of our chancellery, you have to forthwith deliver, render and give into the hands of our dear and well-beloved Jacques Cartier, captain-general and pilot of all the ships, and other vessels, which the King our lord and father sends into the country of Canada and Hochelaga and as far as to the land of the Saguenay, for the causes fully declared in the said letters, or to his clerks and deputies bearing the said letters and these said presents, the prisoners being before you accused or charged with any crime whatsoever, except the crime of heresy and high treason divine and human, and makers of false money, whom the said Cartier shall judge to be suitable, efficient and capable to serve in the said voyage and enterprise, to the full number of fifty persons and according to the choice that the said Cartier shall make of them, those judged first and condemned according to their demerits and the gravity of their offenses, if they have been judged and condemned not and satisfaction also previously decreed the plaintiffs and parties interested, yet had not been made, without, however, delaying for the said satisfaction the delivery of their persons into the said hands of the said Cartier, if he finds them of service, as is said, but to order this satisfaction be taken upon their property only; and in order that there may not be drawn of them a number greater than fifty, each one of you respectively shall consult the margin of the said letters, to see how many shall have been delivered to the said Cartier, and shall have recorded and certified in the margin those

that you shall have delivered him; and nevertheless you shall keep a registry of them, which you shall send to our very dear and loyal chancellor of France, and of us, to show the number and quality which shall so have been delivered, the whole according to, and as is more at length contained and declared in, the said letters of the King our said lord and father, and which the said lord wills and commands by these.

Given at St. Pris, the twentieth day of October, the year one thousand five hundred and forty.

So signed by Monseigneur the Dauphin and Duke,

CLAUSSÉ,

and sealed *à queue* with red wax.

No. 12

THE WILL OF JACQUES CARTIER BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE, MAY 19, 1541

IN right sworn before us notaries & received in the court of St. Malo, subscribing, & by it were this day present & personally appeared Jacques Cartier, captain & master pilot of the King in the new lands, & Catherine Des Granges, his wife, lord & lady of Limoilieu & citizens of this town & city of St. Malo, of the one & the other part. She, the said Catherine, at his request competently, & to agree with that which follows to possess & execute, authorized as well by her husband as by Jacques Des Granges, lord of La Ville-es-gardz, her father, upon this present, who bestows upon her his paternal authority, to all of the contents of these presents, has promised & affirmed by her oath & upon a general hypothecation of all her property, present & future, by this authority never to make revocation: & Jehanne Cartier, sister of the said Cartier, also present, not to go to the contrary in any manner; the which & each one above named, respectively submitting themselves & have sub-

mitted themselves, with all severally their goods movable & immovable, present & to come, to the power, right, jurisdiction, authority, & obedience of our said court, therein to furnish & to obey the law as to the contents of these presents, appurtenances & appendages; the which & each one, without any inducement or coercion, but with their pure & free will, & as best pleased them, made & make a contract together, one with the other, as by title of pure, mutual, & equal gift, of the form & manner which follows: by the which they & each one between themselves have given the one to the other, accepting reciprocally all of the usufruct, enjoyment, & revenue of the houses, lands, appurtenances, inheritances, & things hereditable whatsoever appertaining to them, whether by purchase or otherwise in any manner & without any reservation, in the village of Limoilieu, commonly called the house of Limoilieu, situated & being in the parishes of Pasramé & Saint Ydeuc, & each one, for the survivor to enjoy them during his life only after the death of the first decedent has happened, to acquit & maintain it in due & good repair, while the survivor shall enjoy it, & without causing alienation or waste of it in any manner whatever. Moreover have the said husband & wife given for them, their heirs & successors, the first decedent, the sum of a hundred livres in money to be first taken & raised upon the richest & principal rings & gold chains of their common ownership, at the choice of the survivor, to the value of this sum. Declared & agreed to between them in presence of the said Jacques Des Granges, Jehanne Cartier, each one for them, their heirs & successors, that if & in case that the said death of the said Jacques Cartier should happen before that of the said wife, in that case, during the life of the said Catherine, that she shall enjoy the said place & lands of Limoilieu, that she, Jehanne Cartier, or her heirs shall have & enjoy during the said time, the usufruct, possession, & revenue of a little house & garden behind, situated & being in this said town of St. Malo next the walls of it in

the neighborhood of Buhen, adjoining on one side the street of the said Buhen; on the other side & end to another garden belonging to Jehanne Eberard, & the manor of Buhen on one side. And if the death of the said Catherine should first happen during the life of the said Cartier, that he shall enjoy the same place & inheritance of Limoilieu, that Jacques Des Granges, for him or his, shall have the usufruct & revenue of the little house & garden being in the said town, as is said, until the time of the death of the said Cartier. And the death of the said survivor having happened, all their heritage shall be parted & divided among the heirs & successors of this husband & wife, & each one as shall belong by right & custom. And now, as at the time of the death of the first decedent, they have willed & agreed, the one with the other, that the survivor may take & seize the real, corporal, & actual possession & enjoyment, without any manner or custom of law, & themselves constituting one another, for the survivor, to be the true possessor of the said title, for life only, as aforesaid. And of this between themselves they have promised good & due guaranty upon their said goods, notwithstanding right & custom saying to the contrary; the donor not to be held to guarantee the thing by him given. And all the things & each one aforesaid the said parties, & each one above named, & each one present, for that which touches him, have known to be true, therefore they have promised & sworn to hold & accomplish, without power to go or do to the contrary, nor in any manner whatever to have or cause delay therein, which they have renounced. And therefore to do this we have, by their consents & requests, adjudged & do adjudge them.

Given in testimony hereof, the seals of our said court affixed to the contracts. And it was done & the agreement taken in this said town of St. Malo, in the house & residence of the said husband & wife, the nineteenth day of May, MDXLI. So signed,

Jac. Cartier, G. Rehauld, F. Le Bret.

COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS

No. 13

French Corsairs [1]

OPINION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES CONCERNING THE AFFAIRS OF THE FLEET, THE DESIGNS OF THE FRENCH, AND THE PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN THE INDIES IN CONSEQUENCE OF THEM

Having seen in the Council of the Indies the extracts from the letter his Majesty wrote to the most reverend Cardinal of Toledo, in reply to the report sent his Majesty concerning the French corsairs said to have set out from France, and the suspicion that was entertained in regard to the fleet that the King [2] intended, as he announced, to send out on voyages of discovery, in which his Majesty orders the fleet to assemble to prevent these vessels; and after having conferred a long time, in view of the difficulties in the way of fitting out, this year, a fleet sufficient to resist and attack that of France,—that at least one hundred and fifty thousand ducats would be needed, and that nearly all of this sum would have to be expended from his Majesty's treasury, since from the duties laid on merchants and merchandise, he would be able to realize in advance not more than from twelve to fifteen thousand ducats at most, and that, too, on terms that were available only by reason of their being taken at a high rate of interest; that for this expense, the gold and silver belonging to his Majesty, known at present to be in Panama, having come from Peru, will not be sufficient, and that in the other parts of the Indies it is certain that there is none, because of its having been used in payment of gold treasury warrants that have been taken up: Voted, that the project of the fleet be overruled for this year, not omitting to take into account the fact that the necessary things could be accomplished without undue expense, if it should be decided to fit out a fleet in

[1] This and the four following documents are translated from Coleccion de Varios Documentos, etc., Madrid, 1857, the originals being in the Spanish Archives.

[2] That is, the French king.

accordance with the foregoing plan. And, besides, it seemed best that the equipment of the fleet be postponed, in view of the fact that his Majesty made it known that he did not wish war to break out through any act of his, but wished the truce to be kept; and it seems that fitting out the fleet was a demonstration of the contrary belief, since the King of France proclaimed that he sent out only six ships, and, by the commission given the captain, let it be known that he was sending them only to the ports of the coast of Guinea, which are within the trade convention of Malagueta, and to Brazil, which is outside of his Majesty's line of demarcation. Moreover, it is not to be believed that so small a fleet would be sent to effect a landing on a coast already held and colonized by his Majesty, since they would be lost straightway. As for colonies being formed in the North Sea, the French have nothing to gain from that; and, even if they should gain a foothold, necessity would compel them to relinquish it; indeed, corsairs which go on expeditions do not go to anchor in port, but to prey upon the gold and silver coming from the Indies, which is their profit; and, as the sea is wide, they are able to seize and inflict damage, going among the islands, or waiting by the capes as far as the Azores, and for whatever may come up, unless the fleet come upon them unexpectedly; and whenever it is known that there is a quantity of his Majesty's gold to transport, a fleet can be sent to convoy it in safety.

No. 14

Bacallaos and Cartier

REPORT OF THE SPY SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES TO FRANCE TO FIND OUT ABOUT THE FLEETS BEING FITTED OUT THERE

He says that at Crucique[1] two ships were being fitted out, one of one hundred and thirty, the other of one hundred and twenty tons burden, well equipped with arms and stores,

[1] Croisic, a seaport at the mouth of the Loire and Vilaine, west of Nantes.

carrying one hundred and eighty men. Their objective point could not be ascertained, but it was said to be a voyage of adventure.

At Samaló de Lila,[1] on the coast of Brittany, there were being fitted out, by order of the King of France, thirteen vessels, well armed and equipped with all manner of supplies and munitions for more than two years. Of this fleet Jacques Cartier had command, with whom, as well as with his father-in-law, who fitted out the fleet, he had talked and from them learned that they were going to colonize a land called Canada; that to do this and build a fortress there they were taking workmen and tools of all sorts, and were in great haste. On the fleet it was said that it would set out about the middle or the last of April of this year, and that more than two thousand five hundred men would take part in the expedition. This Jacques Cartier said that this fleet originally contained certain ships that had been fitted out for fishing in the Bacallaos.

In the port of Morlaes,[2] at Bresta, and at Quimpercorantin[3] there were two vessels and two galleons, very well equipped and armed by gentlemen of the land. They said they were bound for the coast of Brazil, mentioning also the Rio de la Plata, and that they would set out before Palm Sunday.

That at Anaflor[4] and at Conaflor[5] four very fine and well-equipped galleons were being fitted out. It was said for certain that they would join the thirteen other ships of Samaló.

At Dieppe he learned that from that port there had set

[1] St. Malo de l'Isle.

[2] Morlaix, thirty-four miles northeast of Brest.

[3] Quimper-Corentin, capital of the department of Finistère, situated on the river Odet thirty-two miles south-southeast from Brest.

[4] That is, Harfleur, which at this time was an important fortified seaport. It has been supplanted by Havre, which is about three miles west-southwest of it.

[5] Honfleur, a similar mistake of the Spanish spy in getting the true name of this place, which in Cartier's time was an important seaport of Normandy.

out fourteen or fifteen vessels and galleons for Malagueta and Brazil, and that they also intended to go to the Rio de la Plata. In the same town of Dieppe he saw being made ready for sea five vessels of about one hundred and thirty tons—some said, to go with the fleet; others, that they were going to Brazil and the Rio de la Plata; still others, that they were going to discover certain lands and islands; he could learn nothing definite.

It was said that the vessels that had set out from Dieppe, and the five that were then fitting out, were equipped by a very rich gentleman of that kingdom, trafficking by sea in all the kingdoms thereabouts, whom they call the Viscount of Dieppe.[1]

This report having been heard, the spy was again ordered to return to France and learn in the ports what had become of these vessels,—whether they had set out, and with how many men, munitions, and supplies; which way they were going, what their purpose was, whether they had been armed, and whether more vessels were being armed and equipped, —and to bring back a complete report of everything.

No. 15

Florida and Bacallaos

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND OF THE INDIES, AT THE REQUEST OF HIS MAJESTY, CONCERNING WHAT WAS PRESENTED RELATING TO THE PURPOSE OF THE FLEET SENT OUT BY FRANCE

Having seen the extracts from the letter his Majesty wrote to the most reverend Cardinal of Toledo, the report from France, and that which was received here from the spy that was sent, through Christobal de Haro, the copy of which

[1] Jean d'Ango, by virtue of his importance as a ship-owner, was styled the Viscount of Dieppe by his contemporaries, and later received the title of Sieur de la Rivière. He was noted for his wealth and his taste for art, and stood high in the favor of Francis I and other members of the royal family.

was sent his Majesty, it is agreed, if what is said in this report is true, that the first land whither they[1] went is distant seven hundred and sixty leagues from Samaló in Brittany, where the fleet was fitted out; that it can be no other land than that which is entered by the coast of the Bacallaos, a land which the Bretons claim to have discovered long ago, since to that place it is exactly seven hundred and sixty leagues, and there is no other land on the map that will give the said seven hundred and sixty leagues, either on this side of or beyond the coast which abuts upon Florida, which is the discovery made by the Licentiate Ayllon and Estephan Gomez, at present intrusted to the Adelantado Soto. It is believed that this must be the truth, since by adding the other seven hundred leagues, which they say must be traversed, the Bahama Channel is reached, which is the best position they could take, when war breaks out with France, to inflict injury upon the vessels from the Indies, since most of them come through the said Bahama Channel, and not one could pass without being taken. This must be their chief object in making settlements on this coast, since, although the land is unproductive, this route is of the greatest importance for their purpose. If this is the case, it is clear that they are going for the purpose of colonizing within your Majesty's line of demarcation.

Since there is no more certainty concerning their voyage than what has been said, it seems best, in order to make sure, to send two caravels—since the King ordered one to be sent—on track of the fleet, so that if one is lost the other may return with the news; and, also, to send another caravel to the Cape Verde Islands to ascertain whether the fleet has passed that way. Since some point out that it might be that they have made their way to the Rio de la Plata, and toward the coast of the Marañon[2] if by chance they should be thrown that way; for the truth should be fully known. This caravel can go and return quickly; and, having learned that they have not gone that way, it will be sure that they have gone to the coast of the Bacallaos; and that until one

[1] That is, the French.

[2] The Amazon River.

of the caravels returns, or the French fleet is heard from in other ways, no fleet be fitted out; but that, in August, the vessels be made ready, which will not be necessary until April, as well as five hundred fighting men for a year; that the necessary preparation be made in case a fleet was to be fitted out, since but small loss would be sustained should these preparations not be needed; and that, at the same time, the artillery, stores, and ships' tackle be put in order.

Moreover, if it is pleasing to his Majesty that the fleet be put in order, so that the place where the French have gone may be definitely known, it seems that this should be done with dissimulation, so that the French could not say that through us war broke out and the truce was violated, as they would very likely say when they learned that a fleet was being fitted out. It seems also that we ought to secure some person of authority, in whom are united the qualities that a captain-general of this fleet must have, in order to seek the conquest and discovery of this land; and stipulate with him, and give him express orders, that he accustom himself to make other agreements, so that the fleet be actually maintained at his Majesty's expense; and proclamations be made in the name of the discoverer and colonizer, and this can be done with the requisite secrecy and dissimulation.

As to the fact that his Majesty wrote that he be informed from what money this could be done, it seems that there is at present no other money available except the gold and silver that is in Panama, having come from Peru, and if it is his Majesty's pleasure to use that, it is necessary to order it to be brought at once, since, in accordance with his Majesty's commands, the officials of that province have been ordered not to send it until his Majesty's fleet comes for it; and if it should not be brought, it would cost a great deal to borrow upon it the money at interest.

The other things which his Majesty ordered to be carried out in the Indies, as well in the matter of fortresses as in the rest, have been done as his Majesty directed.

This was sent to the Cardinal of Seville, and his reply his

Majesty may see from the transcript of his letter which is copied herewith.

COPY OF THE LETTER THE CARDINAL OF SEVILLE WROTE TO SAMANO

I have read two or three times the opinion upon which the Councils of State and the Indies have determined, with reference to the fleet which is said to be setting out from France for the Indies; and after having carefully considered the deliberations of their lordships, I see nothing that can be added to or taken from them, except in regard to the caravel or caravels which are to be despatched to bring back intelligence. A clear title to sail should be given them, so that, making their way into the midst of the French fleet, they may not be regarded as spies and treated as enemies. If this were the case, it would be impossible, except by great chance, to avoid one of two things,—either they would be lost, or we should have through them no definite news of what was taking place; but as this must have been fully considered at the time the caravels were despatched, we have no need at this time to concern ourselves with this matter. His Majesty might be reminded to look carefully into this matter at the time when it shall be necessary. However, I am persuaded, first, that the French are thinking neither of the Rio de la Plata, nor the setting out from that coast which extends from our boundary line to the strait; second, that the journey which they say they made six hundred leagues beyond Bacallaos, they are not making with the intention of founding colonies and putting themselves in position to prey upon our ships with ease, since this would be of no use to them, except to break the truce between France and Spain; and, since this very thing is feared, all men ought reasonably to hope that peace or the truce last a few years, in order to make preparations for the great expenditures necessary for victory in a redoubtable war.

It seems to me that this is nonsense. Their motive is that they think, from what they learn, that these provinces are rich in gold and silver, and they hope to do as we have done; but, in my judgment, they are making a mistake;

for if there are no fisheries, this whole coast as far as Florida is utterly unproductive. In consequence of which they would be lost, or at best would make a short excursion, after losing a few men and the greater part of all they took from France.

Ask advice, I pray you, of the most reverend cardinal in regard to what has seemed best to me, in order that the courier, who is to take the reply to his Majesty, may not be detained on my account.

Talavera, June 10, 1541.

No. 16

Bacallaos and Cartier

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER THE AMBASSADOR WROTE FROM LISBON TO THE COMMANDANT MAJOR ABOUT SOLICITING THERE AN ARMAMENT TO PREVENT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN THE BACALLAOS

I have received your Lordship's letter of the 13th inst., and with it the report of the captain of a caravel sent by his Majesty to the Bacallaos to find out what a French captain, named Jacques Cartier, had done there. This letter I at once showed to the King, and also to the Infante Don Luis, and what the King had already replied concerning arming against the French, I sent his Majesty the 15th inst. by one of my servants, whom I sent in company with the Venetian and a Moor from Persia, who had come with him from Sophia, who were traveling in company; but since this will reach you earlier, I send you again herewith a copy of the same letter.

The King, when I spoke to him again of this, told me that the report and the extract from a letter written by his ambassador in France, herewith inclosed, very nearly agreed; and that, with reference to this matter, he had already told

me, that I might write them to his Majesty, the reasons whence there was apparent to him the slight effect it would have, on account of the expanse of the sea, for either his Majesty or him to order fleets to be fitted out to prevent the French from going on voyages of discovery. I replied that up to the present time it would be a doubtful matter to attack them, but that now it was known where the French had set foot, and that they could not help being found; and that although his Highness said that it was within his boundary lines, as he told me, and concerned him particularly, that his Majesty, because of his great love for him, would aid him with his fleet, so that conjointly the two fleets might fall upon the French and rout them utterly wherever they found them; and that if this should once be done, not for a long time—perhaps never—would the French fit out another fleet.

The King replied to me that where the French had gone —to the Bacallaos—it was as cold as they say it is in the latitude of Flanders, and that the sea is always so tempestuous that he says he lost two fleets there, and his father, Don Manuel, the King, two others that he sent there; that the French could not go to any place where they could do less harm to his Majesty or to him; but that he would think it over again and reply to me. He asked me for that report, and I gave it to him.

I went over the same thing separately with the Infante, Don Luis, and he made the same replies as the King, and added that his brother, the King, had a great many necessary burdens to bear, both in the Indies and in other parts of his kingdom; that he could not remedy these things; and that there were many things that it was better to pretend not to see, than to interfere with, when they cannot be prevented,—such as trying to prevent the French from arming themselves and going on voyages of discovery; and as for the river which the French had discovered, if they could not reach the Southern Sea by it, it seemed to him that what they could accomplish there would amount to

very little; it seemed to him, rather, that they would be lost. I told him that I was of the contrary opinion; that once established there, they would make discoveries all about them; what was needed was not to allow the French to make settlements either there or elsewhere, but to destroy them utterly straightway. According to what they have just said to me, I think that the reply of the King will be the same as the former one; and I also think he would do so, although the French should fall upon him here at Lisbon; that he wishes to break with them openly, judging by what he said in his Majesty's letter. On one hand they show here great weakness, on the other hand they wish to give hence laws to the world; and certainly, if they should desire it, since they have a great number of ships and materials to equip them, they would be able to send from here in a very few days a fleet that would be sufficient for this, without the aid of his Majesty; but they will not want to do it. I then spoke to her Majesty, the Queen, upon the subject, and since I saw how much her Highness thought of his Majesty the Emperor, I hastened to say to her that what has been done here in this matter I considered an act of great cowardice, since the King, her husband, said that where the French had gone concerned him particularly; that, since he did not wish to defend it, he hand over to his Majesty all this navigation; that his Majesty would defend it as he had done the rest of his possessions; and, in addition, other things to make them ashamed of the injury they were doing in allowing this to be passed over in this way. Her Highness said that she would tell this to the King, her husband, and work for it with all her might; that she thought that this was not given up purposely, but because they were aware of the little good that could be accomplished in the matter. I will advise his Majesty and your Lordship of the King's reply; and, since this servant of the most Christian Queen gave me the opportunity, I thought best to send this to you in cipher by him; and as he is a Fleming and, as Francisco de Guzman and his wife tell me, very devoted to his Cæsarian Majesty, etc.

No. 17

French Corsairs

STATEMENT OF WHAT WAS AGREED UPON IN THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES IN REGARD TO THE FLEET TO BE FITTED OUT TO RESIST THAT OF THE FRENCH WHICH IS SAID TO HAVE SET OUT FOR THE INDIES ON A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

In the Council of the Indies, in presence of the most reverend Cardinal of Seville, and of Count D'Orsons, Commandant Major of Leon, having seen what your Majesty ordered written concerning the reply which the King of France had given your Majesty's ambassador and the most serene King of Portugal in regard to the discovery of the Indies, and, also, what the ambassador resident in Portugal wrote, it was resolved as follows: That Christobal de Haro, your Majesty's agent, who is in Burgos, be again written to, to the effect that, continuing the diligence which he had previously shown in carrying out his Majesty's commands, he apply himself with the same diligence, or even greater, if possible, to the instructions now given him anew, in order that he may thoroughly acquaint himself with the preparations, armaments and arrangements being made in these ports for this purpose; whether the King of France, either publicly or in secret, has given his subjects authority to make discoveries in the Indies, and particularly whether Jacques Cartier has this authority; whether certain ships had already set sail; whether other vessels were fitted out, their number and quality, the number of men that went in them, and the route they took; that, in order better to know the truth and the actual condition of this whole matter, he should send straightway a trusty and capable man, and furnish him with everything necessary. We have his response already at hand. In accordance with the information that he will give, it will be understood how to provide for whatever may be necessary in addition to what has already been provided.

It was resolved to write to the officials of Seville, that they straightway inform themselves as to what ships were in the ports of Andalusia, either taking or awaiting cargoes, for what ports each ship is destined and from what ports arrived, and send a report of this, in order that at the proper time those which are needed may be prevented from sailing and seized ; and that it may be brought about that no extravagant expense be incurred, only what is necessary and unavoidable.

They will also be instructed to buy at once a very great quantity of wheat and make biscuits, since in this matter there is wont to be much delay, and nothing, or very little, would be lost if they should not be needed for this purpose, for there would be no lack of purchasers of them ; that the same instructions be given them concerning the other supplies that are necessary for the said fleet ; that the present intention is to make provision for one thousand men at arms. That your Majesty give explicit orders as to what is pleasing to be done in this matter, so that there may be no excess or shortcoming in what is to be provided, and that until your Majesty's royal pleasure is known, or certain intelligence had of what is being done in France, this limit be observed. And that if the fleet is to be fitted out as your Majesty orders, the chief thing is a good supply of weapons and sufficient warlike stores, and that neither in the Casa de Sevilla nor in the district is there a place from which suitable supplies can be had and in sufficient quantity, and to order them made anew is a great expense, and a greater delay ; this might be a reason for the precaution and expenditure being of no avail. That your Majesty order to provide what is most suitable to his royal service.

Moreover, it was agreed that the more quickly the one who was to be captain of this fleet was named, the better it would be. It was talked over in the Council what persons would be qualified for this charge, since in other respects it is different and more important than the other fleets that have been fitted out for the Indies ; and those at present under consideration are the Marquis del Valle, Don Alonso de Lugo, Adelantado of the Canaries, and Don Alvaro de

Bazan, and all of these are men of the sea, skilful navigators, and servants of your Majesty; but it seems that the Marquis del Valle lacks no one of the qualities necessary for this undertaking. However, your Majesty will nominate whoever is pleasing. Since up to this time there has been no conference with these men, and it might be that when your Majesty's nomination is made there might be some objection to the nominee, and in returning to consult your Majesty again there might be great delay, another one of the three might be designated, or some one else more acceptable to your Majesty.

The most important thing to provide for at present, it seems, is that your Majesty ask the most serene King of Portugal not to allow the French ships to take shelter in any of the ports of his kingdom or in the Azores; and that if they should enter port they be treated as enemies of your Majesty and his enemies too, since it is well known that for no other purpose can they sail in that sea than to do injury to your Majesty and his Highness; and that with reference to this matter there should, on your Majesty's part, be shown the King of Portugal all the urgency the case demands.

In addition, that your Majesty order from what funds this fleet is to be raised, it being taken for granted that a tax is to be laid; and, in the meantime, there will be found at interest sufficient funds to pay for it with the gold that will come from the Indies for your Majesty.

No. 18

COMMISSION TO PAUL D'AUXILHON, JANUARY 26, 1542

FRANCIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF FRANCE

To our dear and well-beloved Paul d'Auxilhon,[1] lord of Sainterre, lieutenant of the Lord of Roberval, health and greeting. In order to assist, promote, and aid the said Lord of Roberval with provisions and other things of which he

[1] Spelled in the original Paul d'Ossillon.

has very great want and necessity, as we have understood, in the lands of Canada, which he has recently gone to discover, pursuing the power which he had from us, we having considered and decided to send to him two of our vessels, being on the coast of Brittany, which we have commanded and ordered to be victualed and fitted out for this purpose; in order to accomplish the conducting of which as far as to Canada, it may be needful to commission and depute some person for this, sufficient, capable, and experienced. We make known to you, that we, confiding in your person and in your good sense, experience, sufficiency, and diligence, and considering that in order to be lieutenant of the said Roberval, and that you have already made the said voyage, you will know how to take the said charge, and to execute our intention in this respect, as well and better than any other:

For these reasons we have you commissioned, ordered, deputed, do commission, order, and depute, by these presents, in order, after the said two ships shall have been victualed, equipped, and ready to sail, to have them taken and conducted to the said lands of Canada, the part where the Lord of Roberval shall be, and we have given and do give you hereby power, authority, and especial mandate to command and order the mariners and others who shall be put in the said two ships, what they shall have to do for our service, whom we order to obey you, and to know what may be best to do to make the said voyage in greater safety, as we desire.

We command and also enjoin very expressly all master pilots and mariners, our subjects, taking and making the course to the new lands, that they have to accompany and assist you during your said voyage, and to give you all the aid, succor, and favor that they shall be able to, doing this without any mistake, refusal, or opposition, upon pain of disobeying and displeasing us, for so it pleases us to be done. Given at St. Laurence, the XXVIth day of January, the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty-two, and of our reign the twenty-ninth, in the name of the King,

BAYARD.

No. 19

ORDER OF THE KING TO AUDIT THE ACCOUNTS OF CARTIER AND ROBERVAL, APRIL 3, 1543

FRANCIS, by the grace of God King of France, to our well-beloved and faithful counselor and lieutenant in the admiralty of France, at the marble table of our palace at Rouen, Master Robert Legoupil, health and greeting. In order to see and understand the accounts of the receipts and expenditures which our dear and well-beloved Jacques Cartier, our pilot, has made in the voyage by him lately accomplished by our command into the country of Canada, and of the moneys by him received for that service, as well from us as from our late well-beloved and faithful cousin the lord of Chateaubriand, we had heretofore commissioned and deputed some commissioners, our officers, being near us and in the suite of our person, which on account of other duties and preoccupations that they have by their offices and professions, they have attended to and but little understood, by means whereof the said accounts have not hitherto been verified nor the true nature of the said receipts and expenditures of the said voyage known nor understood, to the great concern and prejudice of us and the said Cartier, who for this reason has very humbly prayed and requested us to empower other commissioners to the effect as above.

We make known that we, fully confiding in your character and judgment, integrity, loyalty, experience, and good endeavor, have commissioned, ordained, and deputed, do commission, ordain, and depute you, for and in the place of the commissioners aforesaid, to assist with four good persons of knowledge, loyalty, and experience, acquainted with the expense of navigation, not suspected nor partial, by which the said Cartier and the said Roberval shall agree before you within eight days after the appointment of this present reference is accomplished; and in default of agreement and harmony by them, you shall take by your office (persons)

not suspected nor partial to either party, and with them shall proceed to the auditing and examination of the accounts of the said Cartier, said Roberval being called and present, whom we will to be there summoned by the first proctor, bailiff, or sergeant upon this requisition, if summons is necessary; whether he appear there or not, it shall be proceeded with by you and the said commissioners to the execution of this present commission, to hear also the difference between the said Roberval and Cartier, as well upon the fact of the said receipts and expenditures as others by them respectively claimed, in order hereafter to give us advice, and to the members of our privy council, as well, upon the closing of the said accounts, and of that by which the said Cartier at the end of them may be indebted to us upon the judgment of the said difference between the said Lord of Roberval and Cartier, and to return all to us faithfully closed and sealed, or to the members of our said council, in order, after considering it, we shall as well see what to do by reason of this action. We have to you and to the said four commissioners, who shall be by you chosen and elected as aforesaid, given and do give power, authority, and commission, and special command, in discharging by this means the four commissioners by us already deputed for the performance of their said commission by these said presents, for such is our pleasure.

Given at Evreux, the third day of April, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty-three, before Easter, and of our reign the thirtieth. So signed by the King in his Council, De Neasville,

and sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.[1]

[1] Seals of different colors were used for distinctive purposes. Thus green, signifying perpetuity, was especially used by the king on edicts, privileges, patents, and other very important instruments. The little seal of the chancellery bore only the arms of the king and served to expedite acts of justice. Yellow was used for ordinary despatches; red, for what concerned the dauphin and Provence.

COLLATERAL DOCUMENTS

No. 20

PARDON GRANTED PAUL D'AUXILHON, SEPTEMBER 9, 1543

Jehan François de la Rocque, Knight, Lord of Roberval, Nogens, and Prax, lieutenant and captain-general in the name of the King in the army, voyage, and expedition by the said lord ordered to be made into the countries of New France,[1] to all those who the present letters shall behold, greeting. We have received the humble petition and request presented to us on the part of our dear and well-beloved Paul d'Auxilhon, Knight, Lord of Sainterre, and one of those making the said voyage into the said countries for the service of the said King, under our charge, stating: "That the year past you,[2] being in France to collect our army, having constituted the said petitioner captain of one of the ships named *L'Anne*,[3] being in the service of the King, under your[4] charge to do what such service requires; which doing, the said petitioner, pursuant to his authority, which by a gentleman[5] belonging to the said ship you[6]

[1] This document appears in Notes pour servir À l'Histoire de Nouvelle France, by Harrisse, a most eminent authority, but who has evidently misread a number of words. In fact, the transcription has been so carelessly done as to make a lucid translation impracticable. In this case he reads "en ces pays de France *nous* a a tous ceulx," etc. This would not be sense, as the voyage was not to be made to any part of France, but to *New* France. The word in the MS. is "*noue*," which makes sense. It is thought best to note these errors in order to explain the reason for a divergence from the French text of Mr. Harrisse's very valuable transcripts, which are regarded as authoritative.

[2] *Vous*—that is, Roberval. To understand this we must bear in mind that Roberval is here quoting from the declaration of d'Auxilhon to him. As Harrisse has it "nous," and does not punctuate nor place in quotation-marks, it destroys the sense. We have taken the liberty to place quotation-marks where the sense requires them.

[3] The author of Notes mistakes / for capital *C*. The name of the ship was *l'Anne*, and not *Canne*, as he has it.

[4] "Vre" in the MS.—that is, "your" and not "our."

[5] In the MS., "gentilhomme"; in the Notes, "yeune homme."

[6] "Vous," not "nous," which destroys the meaning.

sent him on last Christmas day, being in the roadstead of Laudevenec,[1] that he should not let a man leave his ship without his permission, inasmuch as all belonging to the crew of the ship of Captain Larticque,[2] or the greater part of them, departed from you[3] without leave, and thus the service of the King was a long while delayed. By reason of which this petitioner, desiring to prevent this, and by his authority, seeing the same day in his said ship some tired of the service of the said King and wishing to go ashore, he forbade them to do it, even Guillaume Rogier,[4] boatswain of the said ship, and others, the which Rogier began to mutter and incite one of his sailors, Laurens Barbot, against the said petitioner, which Barbot, seeing that this petitioner, as captain, wished to prevent them from putting their will into execution, made an effort to lay hands upon him, in such wise that he put his hand to his dagger and would strike the said petitioner, his captain, with it, saying to him such words as these, drawing toward him: 'By God's blood! you shall not kill the men'; wherefore, to avoid and avert the imminent peril of death in which the said petitioner was, he also put his hand to his dagger in order to deliver a blow at the stomach of the said Barbot, whereof he died. By reason of this a tumult sprang up in the said ship, some of the said mariners crying, 'To the fusees and to the pikes!'[5] in such manner that upon this stroke, by means of the said tumult, two other mariners were killed, but this was not done by said petitioner; however, he suspects that this may have been done by some soldiers, seeing the said mariners stirred up to such fury, and that they had put hand to sword on his behalf. By reason of which the said

[1] In the Notes, "Laudeneur"; in the MS., "Laudevenec." This is the modern Lauderneau, a seaport and manufacturing town in the department of Finistère, on a river of the same name twelve miles east-northeast of Brest.

[2] In the Notes, "Capitaine Cartier"; in the MS., "Cap^ne Larticque."

[3] This is "vous," not "nous" as in Notes.

[4] "Rogier" in MS.; "Roque" in Notes.

[5] "Cannes à fer" in Notes, which is another misreading of *l* for *C*. The correct reading is "lannes à feu," a sort of fire-darts used at this time in warfare, and which we translate fusees.

petitioner greatly suspects that by a misunderstanding[1] by men, not having active knowledge, however, of the said case, as often happens, he was at last convicted of homicide, and pursued for it with the rigor of the law."[2]

And for this reason he has humbly requested us to grant our letters of pardon and absolution, according to the power and authority to us granted by the letters patent of the King. Wherefore it is that we, these things being considered, having regard to the common custom of France, which is such that, in any legitimate defense whatsoever, when such case happens, the King is requested to give pardon and absolution for the conservation of the prerogatives of law; likewise also considering that the said petitioner has done this out of zeal and worthy devotion in the service of the King, and in order to avoid the imminent peril which he saw in the aggression and rebellion aforesaid:

We, for these causes, and others us moving thereto, have to the said petitioner and plaintiff given, conceded, granted, and by these presents do give, concede, and grant, in the name of the King,[3] letters of absolution and pardon, requiring all judges, bailiffs, seneschals, and accorders, and other royal judges, to whom these said letters shall be presented, to give confirmation of them to the said petitioner. And, yet, as far as may be customary, and as our said authority can be understood and permitted, we order and command, in the name of the King, all our royal judges, of whom the said confirmation may be required, that they grant him as of lawful right, saving in other cases the right of the said lord, and for the right of others everywhere, upon pain of disobedience to the said lord: so we find it right to do. Given, in testimony of verity, under our great seals.

[1] In Notes, "par ung iceulx" instead of "par ung faulx," which makes better sense.

[2] Here the quotation evidently ends and Roberval continues. In Notes this is not evident, and the constant use of "nous" for "vous" destroys the meaning.

[3] "de par le Roy," omitted in the Notes. These frequent errors throw doubt on the verbal accuracy of other documents in this valuable collection.

Done at Fort Francy roy,[1] upon Francy prime, this ninth day of September, one thousand five hundred forty-three.

DE LA ROCQUE.

No. 21

POWER OF ATTORNEY TO PAUL D'AUXILHON, FROM JEHAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCQUE, SEPTEMBER 11, 1543

JEHAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCQUE, Knight, Lord of Roberval, lieutenant of the King in the voyage to the parts of Canada, Hochelaga and other places toward Saguenay. To all those who these present letters shall behold, greeting. We notify you that we have established, ordered, and constituted, do establish, order, and constitute, Paul d'Auxilhon, Knight, Lord of Sainterre, our procurator-general and certain especial messenger to transport himself to the place of Rochelle, or elsewhere, in order to find two ships, having been in the service of the King in the said country, one of them being the King's and the other ours, and, having found them or one of them, to have them disarmed and put into better service, that he shall even sell or pledge this our ship called *L'Anne*, for such price as shall seem to him good, and all artillery and other things being in the same, other artillery and goods belonging to us being in the other ship of the King, called the *Gallion*, and with the sums proceeding from the said sales and pledges, to distribute them to the gentlemen, soldiers, and seamen returning in the said ships, as shall seem to him good; and we give him authority moreover as to our lieutenant, to give to the said gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners, having returned in the said ships, their dismissals by writing signed by him, for their use and service in time and place, as if by us in person they were made, and generally to make announcement, procure, sell,

[1] Ramusio and Hakluyt have read the title of Roberval's colonial establishment France Roy. Others have thought it to be Françoys or François Roy; yet in this important document there seems to be no doubt that it is Francy roy. The word is repeated, too, in the same form in Francy prime.

or pledge the aforesaid, as we would or could do if we were there present in person, to bind by warranty the things sold or pledged, our ship and our goods. In testimony of the things aforesaid, we have signed this present, and caused to be placed thereon the seal of our arms, the eleventh day of September, one thousand five hundred forty-three.

J. LA ROCQUE, by the command of my said lord.

FOUZET Cs.

No. 22

LETTERS OF CARTIER'S GRANDNEPHEW TO JOHN GROWTE, ACCOMPANYING ONE TO HIS COUSIN, JUNE 19, 1587

A LETTER written to M. John Growte, student in Paris, by Jacques Noël[1] of Saint Malo, the nephew of Jacques Cartier, touching the aforesaid discovery.

Master Growte,[2] your brother-in-law, Giles Walter,[3] showed me this morning a map printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt, an Englishman; wherein all the West Indies, the kingdom of New Mexico, and the countries of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the river of Canada which is described in that map is not marked as it is in my book, which is agreeable to the book of Jacques Cartier, and that the said chart does not mark or set down the great lake,[4] which is above the sauts, according as the savages have advertised us, which dwell at the said sauts. In the aforesaid chart which you sent me hither, the great

[1] Dionne, Harrisse, and Longrais, all eminent authorities, spell the name of Cartier's grandnephew Nouel and Noël, and sometimes place a diæresis over the u in the former and omit it in the latter instance. It seems best, therefore, not to attempt a uniformity of spelling, but to give the name as it is found in different documents.

[2] Jean Grout or Groote, Sieur de la Ruaudaye, was of Dutch extraction, and was the son of François, Sieur de La-Ville-es-Nouveaux, and Guillemette Colin.

[3] Guillaume Gauthier, Sieur de Lambestil. His wife Françoise was the sister of Jean Grout, the student in Paris.

[4] Lake Ontario is doubtless meant.

lake is placed too much toward the north. The sauts or falls of the river stand in 44 degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to pass them as it is thought. The water falleth not down from any high place; it is nothing else but that in the midst of the river there is bad ground. It were best to build boats above the sauts, and it is easy to march or travel by land to the end of the three sauts; it is not above five leagues' journey. I have been upon the top of a mountain, which is at the foot of the sauts, where I have seen the said river beyond the said sauts, which showed unto us to be broader than it was where we passed it. The people of the country advertised us that there are ten days' journey from the sauts unto this great lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a day's journey. At this present I cannot write unto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here, therefore, for the present, I will end, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your heart's desire. From Saint Malo, in haste, this 19th day of June, 1587.

Your loving friend, JACQUES NOËL.

Cousin, I pray you do me so much pleasure as to send me a book of the discovery of New Mexico, and one of those new maps of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt, the English gentleman, which you sent to your brother-in-law, Giles Walter.[1] I will not fail to inform myself, if there be any means to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Underneath the aforesaid imperfect relation that which follows is written in another letter sent to M. John Growte, student in Paris, from Jacques Noël of Saint Malo, the grandnephew of Jacques Cartier.

I can write nothing else unto you of anything that I can recover of the writings of Captain Jacques Cartier, my uncle,

[1] For a copy of this map *vide* the new edition of Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. viii, p. 272, Glasgow, MCMIV.

deceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this town; saving of a certain book made in manner of a sea chart, which was drawn by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of Master Cremeur,[1] which book is passing well marked and drawn for all the river of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself have knowledge thereof as far as to the sauts, where I have been. The height of which sauts is in 44 degrees. I found in the said chart, beyond the place where the river is divided in twain, in the midst of both the branches of the said river, somewhat nearest that arm which runneth toward the northwest, these words following written in the hand of Jacques Cartier.

"By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said that here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones."

And about an hundred leagues under the same I found written these two lines following in the said card, inclining toward the southwest. "Here in this country are cinnamon and cloves, which they call in their language, Canodeta."

Touching the effect of my book whereof I spake unto you, it is made after the manner of a sea chart, which I have delivered to my two sons, Michael and John, which at this present are in Canada. If at their return, which will be, God willing, about Magdalene-tide, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not fail to advertise you thereof.

Your loving friend, JACQUES NOËL.

No. 23

COLLATION OF JACQUES CARTIER'S ACCOUNTS BY THE ROYAL NOTARIES, NOVEMBER 26, 1587

COLLATION made by us, Etienne Gravé and Julien Le Sieu, royal notaries of the court of Rennes established at Saint Malo and Chateauneuf respectively, upon the originals ex-

[1] This was Jean Jocet, Sieur de Cremeur, then Constable of Saint-Malo. He was not related to Cartier in any way. Documents Nouveaux, Longrais, p. 147.

hibited to us by Jacques Odièvre, merchant, residing at the said Saint Malo, one of the successors of the said deceased Captain Cartier; and, moreover, the said Odièvre has exhibited to us an account written on paper signed, "Jac Cartier," containing seventy leaves of writing, the beginning of which, as far as to the third leaf, *verso*, we have only with the deduction, being on the last leaf of the said account, inserted and forward, as follows, and no more, by reason of the length of the said account.

To the end that by you, sir, Master Robert Legoupil, councilor of the King our sire, and lieutenant in the admiralty at the marble stone at Rouen, commissioner, by the said lord ordered to examine and audit the accounts of the receipts, disbursements, and expenses of Jacques Cartier, captain and pilot by royal authority, on the voyage last made by him to the land of Canada, and other places; together to audit and understand the differences between the Lord of Roberval and the said Cartier, four commissioners being called in your company pursuant and according to their commission, this Cartier is ready to answer and offers to do according to the tenor of that commission, and according to the will of the said lord, that the substance and manner of the said accounts may be thoroughly and completely understood. And, first, deposes this Cartier and charges himself to have been ordered by the said lord for the execution of the said voyage forty-five thousand livres tournois[1] being delivered to Jean François de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, and to the said Cartier, for the execution of the said voyage, to use and convert into things necessary for such expedition, more fully named by verbal agreement articled and specified on the part of the said lord by Master Guillaume Prudhomme, Monsieur the General of Normandy, and the said de la Rocque and Cartier, to these presents attached, of which forty-five thousand livres

[1] The livre tournois, or livre of Tours, occupied in the French coinage the place of the franc of to-day, and was of about the same value; so that the "forty-five thousand livres tournois" here spoken of amounted to somewhat less than nine thousand dollars.

fifteen thousand remain in the hands of the said de la Rocque, with which he charges himself as appears by instruments signed by the said de la Rocque, and Charles de Kermarec, lord of the said place, and the said Cartier, under date of the seventh day of May, the year one thousand five hundred forty-one, executed at Saint Malo, which instruments, together with other papers, in case of the denial of the said de la Rocque, it shall please you to examine and to allow to the said Cartier his proofs and defenses, so that his right will be seen to use the rest of the said sum, which is thirty thousand livres, making two thirds of the forty-five thousand livres, which thirty thousand livres delivered to the said Cartier by the hands of Master Jean Duval, the treasurer of the exchequer of the said lord, for which sum the said Cartier renders himself absolutely accountable, and presently offers by clauses and particulars to show whether the disposition of those sums has been faithfully proceeded with by him; this, Cartier, protesting against revision and audit previous to reply to what may be found ambiguous and doubtful to prove, and promises, after verbal explanation, by deeds, documents, and authentic instruments; praying and requesting as to this, to have those seen, understood, and received according as right and justice suppose the fact for the said Cartier, even in things which otherwise could not be understood, with which, the said Cartier charges himself in proof, acknowledgment, and authentication, if more ample proof be required. Moreover, the said Cartier charges himself to have received from the said Lord of Roberval the sum of thirteen hundred fifty livres tournois, in six hundred écus soleil,[1] which the said Lord of Roberval took by loan of François Crosnier, citizen of Saint Malo, which were used in part for the payments and disbursements of the said Cartier, and for which sum the said Lord of

[1] "Écu soleil." This coin took its name from a triangular shield, such as was borne by a man at arms, on its obverse side. On its face it bore different devices. The écu soleil bore the figure of the sun, and the écu de la couronne, a crown. According to this reckoning, the écu soleil represented two and a quarter livres—about forty-three cents.

Roberval has since given acknowledgment to the said Crosnier, Allouise Détiville, Sieur de Saint Martin; and so the said Cartier remains accountable for thirty-one thousand three hundred and fifty livres.

The which debit known, it remains to audit and understand the reckoning of his credit, and this known to balance it against the said debit and see which will come short.

But before proceeding farther, it remains to know and fully understand the intention of the King, that in the prosecution of the said voyage five ships should be furnished by the said Roberval and Cartier, as well for purchase of part as for charter of others, the whole carrying four hundred tons burden, for which was ordered in general eight thousand five hundred livres for all of the said ships for the accomplishment of the said voyage, as it is stipulated in full in the said verbal transaction agreed upon for the said lord by Master Guillaume Prudhomme, and again repeated and specified by the acquittance of the said Duval at the time he took and delivered the said thirty thousand livres to the said Cartier, and for more ample specification of that which the said Cartier has done and employed for the execution of all the said voyage, and this by the express command, which must appear sufficient, of the said Lord of Roberval, lieutenant for the King in the said voyage; the said Cartier declares, maintains, and affirms to have employed, faithfully and better than for his own business, eight thousand five hundred livres for the payment and reparation in genuine purchase of part of the said ships, and in the settlement of freight and charter for the others, which five ships he has himself furnished and paid for alone above the said sum of thirty-one thousand three hundred fifty livres that he had, carrying more than fifty tons burden beyond the stipulation in the said verbal transaction and what was commanded for the said ships by the said lord for the execution of the said voyage, the whole by the command of the said Roberval, as shall appear by express letters and mandates from him, by reason whereof the said Cartier prays

that the said sum of eight thousand five hundred livres be adjudged him in deduction and abatement of the said sum of thirty thousand livres, and with which he is charged, regard being had to the duty that he has performed, likewise, the said money of the King failing, that he had admitted his own to hazard and great risks for the service of the said lord, as will appear to you when he shall come to the point of the third ship, which could not be paid as was the intention of the said lord, but on account of the default of the money, which the said de Roberval had, and was to bring from day to day, in order to do that which might remain to be done for this voyage, was Cartier by this compelled to conduct the other two to his great hazard, even to loss of right of charter, as is stipulated in full in the said article, which the said Cartier places at the option and choice of you, Messieurs, being for the said lord, at this present accounting, to deduct from it the said sum to him adjudged by the said verbal transaction for the said five ships, which is eight thousand five hundred livres, to which add that which the said Cartier has expended for the freighting of the *Emerillon* and repairing of the latter, which belonged to the King, of the repairing of which it will appear to you by inquest upon the fact by trustworthy men, which amounts to the sum of a thousand livres, whereof the said Cartier offers to make ample proof, and as to this charges himself with proof sufficient to be fully understood that the expense of the said two ships, the *Ermine* and the *Emerillon*, is four thousand five hundred livres; and concerning the third ship fitted out for seventeen months which it was in the said voyage of the said Cartier, and for eight months that it was in returning to the said Canada to fetch the said Roberval at the risk of charter, as the other two, will be two thousand five hundred livres; and for the other two, which were in the said voyage, six months at a hundred livres per month are twelve hundred livres; so that to this end will be eight thousand two hundred livres; the said third ship remaining acquired and proper to the said Cartier in retaining it, return being made to the King at his appraisal with the repairing

of the said *Emerillon*, there will be found spent by the said Cartier eight thousand seven hundred livres, that the said Cartier prays to be allowed him in reduction of the charge for which he is accountable, which is thirty-one thousand three hundred fifty livres, and by thus deducting eight thousand seven hundred livres, but twenty-two thousand six hundred fifty livres will remain, for which the said Cartier is accountable, and this he here deducts and places to account.

This present account has been by us, Robert Legoupil, Esquire, licentiate in the law, lieutenant-general in the jurisdiction of the Admiralty at the marble table in the Palace of Rouen, of the high and mighty lord, Monseigneur the Admiral of France, and commissioner of the King in this affair, in the presence of Masters Robert Lelarge, Pierre Caradas, advocate and procurator of the King, Jean Loué, registrar of my said lord Admiral, Thomas Saldaigne, Alvaro de la Tour, François Maillard, and Jean Noury, by us called in pursuance of the commission to us directed and sent by the King, have seen, heard, and proceeded to the examination, auditing, casting, and calculating it conformably to the codes set down and written in the margin of the said account and official report by us made and signed, and by the above said officers and commissioners, it appears according to the opinion and advice of the said commissioners, by the casting and calculation that they have made of it, the said Cartier should have employed and expended as well for ships, victuals, wages, goods, rentals, advances, and other expenses by the said Cartier up to the rendition of this account for the fitting out and despatch of the said voyage, the sum of thirty-nine thousand nine hundred eighty-eight livres four sols six deniers tournois.

The said Cartier charges himself with having received from the King our sire, for the setting forth and undertaking of the said voyage, the sum of thirty thousand livres tournois, by the hands of Master Jean Duval, treasurer of the exchequer.

Moreover, he charges himself with having received by the hands of the said de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, six hundred crowns soleil, valued at thirteen hundred fifty livres.

So it appears that in allowing the said expenses and outlays should be due to the said Cartier the remainder of his said account for the undertaking of the said voyage, for having laid out and promised to pay more than received, the sum of eight thousand six hundred thirty-eight livres four sols six deniers tournois, to the reservations and conditions stipulated in the said codes and official report.

In witness whereof, we, lieutenant, officers and commissioners aforesaid, have signed and had these presents containing seventy leaves, sealed upon a cord passed across the said account with the great seal of the said Admiralty, the twenty-first day of June in the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty-four.

Signed: R. Legoupil, R. Lelarge, P. Caradas, Thomas de Saldaigne, Alvaro de la Tour, F. Maillard, Jean Noury, J. Loué, and sealed with a seal of red wax pendant to a silk cord crossing the said account.

Which above insertion, from the beginning of said account, and deduction from it, we, the said notaries, have also faithfully compared with the original, and the transcripts of the letters and insertions here above contain fourteen leaves of writing, without comprising that next following, where we shall set our signatures, and the said fourteen leaves are written by Sebastien Odièvre, brother of the said Jacques, and the originals of the said letters and accounts have remained with the said Jacques Odièvre, and with his consent the present transcript delivered to Captain Jacques Noël, of the said Saint Malo, also one of the successors of the said deceased Cartier, this requiring in order to serve him and the said Jacques Odièvre and their associates as well as of right. Done at the said Saint Malo, by the said Etienne Gravé, the twenty-sixth day of November, the year one thousand five hundred eighty-seven, before noon. And the said

Jacques Odièvre and Jacques Noël have signed. Witness the royal seal here placed.

Signed: Jacques Noël, Jac. Odièvre, E. Gravé, notary royal. Jn. Le Sieu, notary royal, and sealed.

No. 24

COMMISSION TO ETIENNE CHATON AND JACQUES NOUEL BY HENRY III, JANUARY 14, 1588

HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and Poland, to our very dear and well-loved cousin, the Duke of Epernon, peer and admiral of France, governor and our lieutenant-general in Normandy, vice-admiral of Brittany, or his lieutenant in the said admiralty, greeting.

Our dear and well-beloved Etienne Chaton,[1] Esquire, Sieur de la Jaunaye, and Jacques Nouel, captains of marines and master pilots of our city of Saint Malo de l'Île in Brittany, nephews and heirs of Jacques Cartier, deceased, in his life captain and grand pilot of marine, have represented to us, in our council, that our late very dear lord and grandfather, considering the said deceased Cartier to have with his care, labor and diligence, and very great expense, discovered the New Lands whither he might have voyaged, desiring to people the said country discovered, by his letters patent of the 20th of October, one thousand five hundred and forty, despatched these provisional letters addressed to the said deceased Cartier in order to make discovery of the New Lands and country of Canada and other places adjacent, at that time not known to be inhabited, nor discovered by other nations, in order to carry and conduct there by sea men and women, in order to people and increase the said country, which task the said deceased Cartier would have executed with all his ability as the said inhabitants bear evi-

[1] Etienne Chaton, born January 28, 1543, was the son of Olivier Chaton, Sieur de la Jaunaye, procurator, and Catherine Le Gobien, through whom he was related to Cartier's wife. His wife was Thomasse Maingard.

dence thereof; likewise building a fort there, and some other places to accustom and subdue the savages of the said country to the knowledge of God and of his faith Catholic, apostolic, and Roman, under the authority and knowledge of our said deceased lord and grandfather, to whom, for this effect, and to favor the said discovery, and give means to the said Cartier to support the necessary expense, had delivered to him as much as forty thousand livres, which the said Cartier employed, and having since rendered account before commissioners for this deputed by our said lord and grandfather, at the end and closing of which is found to be due him the sum of eight thousand six hundred thirty livres, as appears by the documents hereto attached, but in pursuing the discovery of the said land and of the commodities existing therein, after several voyages and long journeys, the said Cartier having therein exposed his goods and means, and those of his friends, and has deceased without any of his heirs having drawn recompense of our said predecessors:

Nevertheless, that they may perpetuate the memory of their said deceased uncle, as well as their own, and that their labor and enterprise may not be imputed vain and illusory, joined to the zeal and affection that they have for the welfare of our service, having been from their youth bred to the business of the sea, and in following the memorials of Cartier, and the instructions that their deceased uncle has left them, having commended to them in his last days the execution and continuance of his undertaking, they are said to have several times made the said voyage, continuing even to the present, from year to year, to traffic there with the said savages, as in the skins of buffaloes, buffalo calves, martens, sables, and other sorts of peltries and merchandise which are to be found there, having for some time brought with them to the said place of Saint Malo some of the said savages, and nourished them nearly a year in all gentleness and friendship, and afterward carried them back into their country to the precinct of Canada, in order to better facilitate traffic and friendship with the said savages, by means of which they are said to have since discovered certain mines

of copper at Cape Coujugon,[1] in the said country, from which they are said to have brought us the evidence after having made proof of it, having found and examined some places and fortresses which might have been commenced in divers parts and places of the said lands by the command of our deceased lord and grandfather, being at present in ruin by reason of not having been settled and maintained, which is a very great loss and inconvenience, for the country is said to be fine, large, and fertile, and producing fruit trees, vines, and other vegetable products suitable for the nourishment of man, and very fitting for making trade and traffic therein beyond the profit that the said mariners might be able to produce in time to this our realm: Praying us, in consideration of the above, to cause some money to be furnished them, as much for recompense of the said sum due the said defunct, their uncle, as for labors and services of the said defunct, in order to return to the said country and lands of Canada, Coujugon, and other lands adjacent, in order to build and construct, under our observation, authority and obedience, some fortresses for the safety and shelter of their persons and vessels and the preservation of the said miners against the incursions which might be made against them by our subjects and other nations, as they say have been made against them the past year, three of their pinnaces having been burned and another seized by force, having deprived them of, and caused them to lose, their traffic in the said last voyage, as they expect to let us know about it hereafter, with the time and place of it; and the necessity of our affairs could not permit the said payment, and that of two thousand two hundred crowns due to the said de la Jaunaye for his wages on account of his rank of captain of the marine for the last twelve years, and without prejudice to their due recompense and acknowledgment of the labors of the said defunct Cartier, reserving the prosecution to a more fitting time, it pleases us to accord to them and their associates all the profit which shall proceed from the said

[1] Coujugon, or, according to some readings, Conjugon. This place has not been identified.

mines, and trade from the said peltries during the next twelve years, with the power and warrant necessary for the said voyage and discovery of the said lands of Canada, Coujugon, and other adjacent places inhabited and not held and possessed by other kings and princes, save the said savages, permitting them to build at their expense, according to their means, in the places and premises which shall be needful for their refuge and safety in the preservation of their vessels and ores, and at their risks and hazards, upon condition always that the said trade may be in our name interdicted to all our other subjects, of whatsoever rank they may be, and to all other strangers, upon pain of confiscation of body and goods during the said twelve years next ensuing, if it be not by the wish of the said petitioners, and to the effect of all the above, it pleases us to grant them every year from our prisons the delivery of sixty persons, as well men as women, of those who shall be condemned to death or other corporal punishment, in order to carry them to the said country of Canada to finish their lives, as well as by work of the said mines and defense of the said places, as to people the said country, as it is said to have been permitted to the said defunct Cartier by our said deceased lord and grandfather by his said commission.

We, having taken into consideration the said request and had it considered in our council together with the duplicate hereto attached, as of the said commission of the said defunct Cartier, and the balance of his said account, with the order of reception of the said de la Jaunaye into the rank of captain of our marine, and wishing, as is very reasonable, to achieve the result of the said discovery, since it was commenced by our subjects, and under our said supervision and authority, whereof the traces and vestiges of the said buildings and forts which were begun still remain, we have, with the advice and deliberation of the men of our council of state, accorded and granted, do accord and grant, to the said petitioners, the same power which may have been given by our said deceased lord and grandfather, and which is contained in the letters of commission for this expedition, and of which

the copy is hereto attached, which we will and intend to take effect under the names of the said petitioners as they have been named and expressed, and as may be fully specified herein; and in order to give more means to the said petitioners to maintain the expense of the said discovery, we have granted that they alone, and their factors and managers having power from them, may have all the trade and business of the said country of Canada, Coujugon, and other adjacent lands, in order to make their profit in it and enjoy it, as well from what shall come from the said mines discovered, and to be discovered, as from the traffic in the said peltries and other merchandise, upon the condition of making our subjects benefit by it, and that during the said twelve years next ensuing, so much of the profits and emoluments as they may be able to draw from the said country during the said time, they may not and should not be in our name, nor in others, compelled to account for nor restore.

And to this end we have made and do make gift to them, with the condition always of paying the accustomed duties imposed upon the import of similar merchandise into our realm, if any such are paid and due; and because there will be need of men and women to people said country, we will, in conformity with the letters patent of our deceased lord and grandfather, that there be by our courts of parliament, presiding judges, and others, our judges, delivered in each year, as many in number as sixty prisoners of those who shall be judged and condemned to death or other corporal punishment, of whatever rank, quality, or condition, as they shall find them to be necessary; and to the end that they may with all safety labor in the said mines, we permit them, under our observation and authority, to build and construct such forts, buildings, and storehouses as they shall deem to be necessary to the above end, and also for shelter, protection, and preservation of their vessels and ships, as well as of their mines discovered and to be discovered; and to this end the said petitioners are to cause these prisoners to embark in one or more vessels, which they shall arm, victual, and equip with soldiers and seamen to such number as they shall think

proper; these soldiers and prisoners which they shall carry there to settle, hold subject and cause to live in the fear of God, the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and to follow our laws, statutes, and ordinances, and in the obedience which to us is due, together to converse with and deal by all ways of gentleness with the said savages, to draw, endeavor to instruct and reduce them to the knowledge of God and his Christian faith; to punish the disobedient and malefactors, who shall settle there, according to their demerits, and generally to conduct all operations and projects of conquest under our name and authority, by all due and lawful means to bring the said country into our obedience; and in order to do this, we have from this time retained and do retain the said de la Jaunaye and Nouel factors, negotiators, and managers, bearing power hereby, during the said twelve years, under our said favorable protection and special safeguard, by making most express interdictions and prohibitions to all other subjects, and to all other nations, not to give them any trouble and hindrance upon the building of the said fortresses, nor to profit nor intermeddle in the said traffic, as well in the said ores as peltries and other merchandise and commodities, which shall be found in the said country, upon pain of confiscation of body and goods against the offenders; unless during the said twelve years the said petitioners, their heirs or agents, should be forbidden or their present power revoked for any cause whatever; though we will that it remain firm and stable without any one intervening therein; but should we desire hereafter to revoke these presents, and to appoint there some other persons than the said petitioners, before they relinquish the said places and forts, we intend that they may previously be reimbursed for that which is due, both for the expenses of the deceased Cartier and de la Jaunaye and for the expense they may have been to for the execution of the said present armament and equipment of vessels, building of forts, and other expenses, that they shall show to have been made to the effect as above; and we order and command you and all our other judges and officers, whom it shall concern, to cause

the said (de la Jaunaye and Nouel) to enjoy our present favor and, as above expressed, without suffering any hindrance therein to be made or given them. On the contrary, praying and requesting our very dear and well-beloved brothers, cousins, allies, and confederates, kings and princes, lords and potentates, not to permit their subjects to give to the petitioners, their factors and managers, any trouble or hindrance, the whole notwithstanding some grants, treaties, passports, or commissions that might have been heretofore granted by us, or which we may hereafter grant, to the prejudice of these said presents, which we revoke by these said presents; for such is our pleasure. And because the said de la Jaunaye and Nouel, their factors and managers, might have business in many and divers places by these presents, we will that in the duplicate by them duly compared with the original by one of our beloved and faithful notaries and secretaries, evidence may be adjusted as by the present original. Given at Paris, the fourteenth day of January, the year of grace one thousand five hundred eighty-eight, and of our reign the fourteenth.

Signed by the King in his Council, BRULLART,

and sealed.

No. 25

DELIBERATION OF THE BURGESSES OF SAINT MALO RESPECTING THE INTERDICTION OF TRADE WITH CANADA THE NINTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, THE YEAR 1588, AT THE BAY, BEFORE M. DE LA PERANDIÈRE, LIEUTENANT

UPON the remonstrance of the procurator, having been informed by several of the burgesses and inhabitants that Captain Jacques Nouel and others have obtained letters of the King to trade to Canada, prohibiting it to all others for certain years; a thing prejudicial to the generality of this community; it has been resolved that the said letters shall be opposed in the name of this community, in the court of parliament of this country and elsewhere as need shall be; and to accomplish this have consented that the said procura-

tor shall address a procurator at the court. For this purpose, Charles Jonchee, mineur of the said town, shall deliver funds to the procurator, which shall be allowed him on his account.

Deliberation continued.

Feb. 27. Whereas, this assembly has been had because of letters of the King, obtained by Captain Jaunaye and Captain Jacques Nouel, touching Canada; and as the said inhabitants have thought that any who handle the record have interest in it, I have myself withdrawn from the report, and for this Pierre Le Roy, notary royal, has been appointed to report what was done.

No. 26

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE INTERDICTION OF TRADE IN CANADA, MARCH 11, 1588

Be it known, if the inhabitants of Saint Malo are well grounded in pursuing the revocation of the said letters, and principally the clause which carries interdiction of traffic and trade in peltries, yet do not however intend to undertake anything with the said mines nor things which they shall discover hereafter;

And whereas the council may not be of opinion that we think to have the said clause revoked carrying interdiction of traffic, if some particular inhabitants of Saint Malo may be acceptable and favorable to enter into the premises and place of said Jaunaye and Nouel, provided that they shall suffer and permit liberty to all inhabitants in the said traffic and mines, save for two or three first years, while the said Jaunaye and Nouel may wish to restrain the said inhabitants and all others from enjoying it for twelve years;

And whereas his Majesty might accord to the said particular inhabitants the granting of their request they would be subject to reimburse the said Jaunaye and Nouel their pretended dues and wages and costs by them made and expended, regard being had to what they had given to understand and

to the contestations borne in the margin hereof; for if his Majesty ordered that the said individuals and inhabitants withdraw themselves from this proceeding, there would be no merit therein;

Be it known if the said particular inhabitants having obtained and set forward the business, come to know and judge the said mine not worth the trouble of being further pursued and discovered by them, this is a thing that they may do, and remain free of it toward his Majesty, forasmuch as his said Majesty does not give them any funds without the power hereafter to be inquired into.

It will be difficult for the inhabitants of Saint Malo to obtain from his Majesty the revocation of the trade in peltries granted to Jaunaye and Nouel, if they will not subject themselves to the same charges and obligations in which the aforesaid have bound themselves for the discovery of mines and building of forts for the preservation of them, because it shall always be said that the permission to the above said Jaunaye and Nouel to have the traffic in peltries prohibited to all others is like the interest and recompense for infinite outlay and expenses that it will suit them to make for the discovery of the said mines, to put them in condition and prepare them in order to draw profit therefrom;

But if the said inhabitants should wish to subject themselves to the like charges that the said Jaunaye and Nouel have made, because the said letters are founded upon false testimony, provided that Jaunaye is not the nephew and heir of Jacques Cartier, or does not touch him by any parentage, and as to Nouel, that although he may be his nephew he has several other coheirs, and that what Jaunaye pretends to have done for the service of the King, whether in the taking of Abraga, siege of Rochelle, and recovery of Belle-Isle is most false, and that if he has commanded in one of the six ships which were opposed by the inhabitants of Saint Malo against the common depredations of the Rochellers, the said service is due to said inhabitants and not to said Jaunaye, who should be contented with being in the said ship without doing any remarkable deed, these inhabitants shall

have the said letters revoked and render the traffic to the said place of Canada free to all the town if it does not please the King to permit it to all his subjects, and this being done, more especially as the said Jaunaye has circumvented his said Majesty in his remonstrances, as well for the effect here above as that he has caused it to be believed that he had continued the discovery commenced by the said Cartier, and had made great and long voyages to Canada, where he never was;

The said inhabitants shall not be held to pay to the said Jaunaye the said wages of captain of marine, and no more to the said Nouel as accomplice in the imposture of the said Jaunaye and aiding in making false statements in the council of the King; and in order to better facilitate the revocation of the said clause, and to show the imposture of the said Jaunaye and Nouel, it will be well that the said inhabitants take power from the other heirs of the said Cartier to make clear to his Majesty that the said Nouel is only the heir of the said Cartier in a very small portion.[1]

Resolved at Rennes, this 11th of March, 1588.

DOURDIN.

No. 27

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF ESTATES OF BRITTANY RELATIVE TO JAUNAYE AND NOUEL, SESSION OF NANTES, MARCH 17, 1588

UPON the petition presented in the assembly of the estates extraordinarily convoked by authority of the King in his city of Nantes, by the procurator of the burgesses, peasants,

[1] Upon the foregoing documents numbered 24, 25, and 26 there are memoranda, probably made by the attorney of the people of St. Malo, to the effect that Jaunaye was neither the nephew nor heir of Cartier, and had never been in Canada; that Cartier was not the discoverer of the New Land, and that he owed money to the people of St. Malo, which he had promised to pay when his accounts were adjusted; that Nouel went to Canada like others, prompted by mercenary motives; that he did not support the savages brought from there; that the alleged discovery of mines, the ownership of boats burned, the fertility of the country, in fact, all the statements of the two claimants were false.

and inhabitants of Saint Malo, called as one, Captain Jaunaye and Jacques Nouel, under pretext of certain pretended letters, which they claim to have obtained from his Majesty, by which they pretend that all merchants of the said country and others would be forbidden and prohibited from trading or carrying on any commerce going or coming to the country of Canada during the term of twelve years, and that they only may have the power and authority to do this, on account of, and in doing this, to cut off and prevent the negotiation of ordinary commerce, which at all times is permitted to every one to the said country as to other foreign nations, requiring the said procurator of Saint Malo, and other procurators of the cities of the said country, who have made the same petition to the said estates, to exercise power therein; whereupon by the lords of the estates it has been resolved and decreed, that those who have been deputed in the assembly before the King shall represent before his Majesty the consequence that it would be to the said country if, for the profit of one individual, the said commerce to the said country of Canada should not be free to every one, and shall very humbly petition him to revoke the clause of interdiction of trade and commerce carried by the said letters obtained by the said Jaunaye and Nouel; and to this effect the said deputies shall obtain by it all the necessary provisions to the contrary, for which shall be adjudged them costs and reimbursements.

Done in the assembly of the estates, held at the Jacobins of the said Nantes, the seventeenth day of March, one thousand five hundred eighty-eight.

Signed, F. G. P., Abbé of Villeneuve.

No. 28

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE IN CONFORMITY TO A PETITION OF THE MALOUINS, MAY 5, 1588

CONSIDERED BY THE KING in his council the petition presented to his Majesty by the commonality & residents of the town of Saint Malo, tending to this, that

for the reasons contained therein, it may please his Majesty to declare that by his letters patent granted to Etienne Chaton, Sieur de la Jaunaye, & Jacques Noël, his said Majesty has not intended to hinder commerce, trade & free fishing in the towns of Canada, Coujugon, & other new lands heretofore discovered, to all his subjects, & inasmuch as need may be in this respect to revoke the said letters, & to restrain & limit the prohibitions accorded to the said Chaton & Noël for the lands which they may hereafter discover.

Copy of the decree of the said Council upon the petition of the said Chaton & Noël of the 14th of January last; another copy of letters patent obtained by them the said date & year.

THE KING IN HIS COUNCIL, in granting the said petition, has declared & declares that by the said letters patent his said Majesty has not intended to hinder the freedom of trade & commerce of peltries & all other sorts of merchandise to all his subjects in the said islands of Canada & Coujugon, & of the customary fishing. Ordered that the said subjects shall continue the said trade & fishing in all freedom, as they have been accustomed, notwithstanding the said letters & decree & other like letters which may have been obtained by his said subjects, the which decree & letters moreover, & for the lands which shall hereafter be discovered by the said Chaton & Noël so much only shall grow out of their full & entire effect.

Made by the said Council of State, held at Paris, the fifth day of May, one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight.

Signed, FORGET.

Compared with the original by me, notary, secretary of the King, BARDOUL.

No. 29

ORDER OF THE KING UPON THE BILL OF REMONSTRANCES OF THE THREE ESTATES, JULY 19, 1588

HENRY, by the Grace of God King of France and Poland, and to our beloved and faithful councilors, the men hold-

ing our court of parliament of Brittany, seneschals of the said country or their lieutenants, provosts, masters of the ports, guards, and all our other justices and officers that it shall concern, greeting.

We have had considered in our council the bill of remonstrances of our well-beloved the men of the three estates[1] of our country and duchy of Brittany, presented to us by their deputies holding, among other things, that from all time commerce and trade has been free to our subjects of the said country with the savages and others, Newfoundland, country of Canada, Coujugon and other places, as well in peltries and fish as in other commodities of whatsoever kind they may be: Notwithstanding, Etienne Chaton, Sieur de la Jaunaye, and Jacques Nouel, inhabitants of Saint Malo, upon their testimony to have made some discoveries in the said islands, have obtained from us letters patent from the XIVth of January last, carrying interdiction to all others from trading in the said country during the term of twelve years, pretending by these means to obstruct the ancient and accustomed liberty of the commerce of the said province in general: requesting us very humbly to revoke the said letters obtained by the said Chaton and Nouel, and to order that, without having regard to them, it shall be permitted to our subjects to trade in the said islands with the same liberty as in the past.

We have also had shown that those of the great salt company[2] wished to impose a rate on salt, and to fix a tax on it, from whence it comes about that several companies of the said country, and among others of the territory of Guerande,[3] being compelled to give their commodities at the rate of the said factor, receive infinite loss, not drawing the twentieth part of their income, as they have been accustomed, contrary to our intention, which has not been to interfere with

[1] The three estates comprised the nobility, the clergy, and the common people.

[2] This company controlled a large portion of the salt industry of Brouage and vicinity.

[3] A walled town in the department of Loire-Inférieure, and in Cartier's day of considerable importance, especially for defense.

the liberty of selling nor buying by agreement, and at such price as seems good to the merchants, by occasion of which they cannot pay over fuages[1] and subsidies, thereby causing great diminution of the duty imposed upon salt, which is so much less that salt is given out at a mean price, requesting us very humbly to rule them upon this appeal: we, for these causes, with the advice of our council, desiring to gratify the said estates in whatever shall be possible, and to preserve them in their ancient liberties, in consideration of the good service which they have performed for the preservation of the said country in our obedience, inclining to their request, have revoked and do revoke the said letters of interdiction obtained by the said de la Jaunaye and Nouel, carrying prohibition to all others from trading to the said places during the term of twelve years, without the grantees assisting or prevailing in any manner to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the province, making always exception and reservation in respect to the mines for which they have made research and discovery, which interdictions and prohibitions we have raised and removed, do raise and remove by our full power and royal authority, have permitted and do permit to all our subjects to trade to the said islands with such liberty as they have had in the past; and, moreover, we have declared, and do declare, that by the gift by us heretofore made to them of the great salt company, neither their factors, nor managers, nor other persons may purchase salt in the place of the said Guerande and other places of the said province, unless by agreement which we command and enjoin you to take in hand, that the said inhabitants of the territory may not be restrained from selling or buying the said salt at the price and rate which those of the said great company design to make for it.

To whom to this end we make very express prohibition not to trouble or hinder the said trade and voluntary purchase, upon penalties which may happen to them, which prohibition shall be made against them and all others whom it shall concern, if need is, by our bailiff or first

[1] Fuage was a tax imposed upon fireplaces: called in England hearth-money.

sergeant, upon this requisition, without demanding permission *placet visa, ne pareatis;* moreover, letting the said men of the three estates enjoy what is contained in these presents fully and peaceably, ending and causing to end all troubles and hindrances to the contrary, notwithstanding oppositions or appellations whatsoever, for which and without prejudice to them we will by you to be deferred orders of prohibition and letters to the contrary, because such is our pleasure.

Given at Rouen the nineteenth day of July, the year of grace one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, and of our reign the fifteenth.

Signed by the King in his Council, POTIER,

and sealed with yellow wax *à queue simple.*

Compared with the original by me, notary, secretary of the King, BARDOUL.

No. 30

MEMORIAL OF THE COMMUNITY OF SAINT MALO, RESPECTING RESTRICTION OF TRADE WITH CANADA, JANUARY 3, 1600

IT is proper to have messieurs the deputies of the province of Brittany understand the commission obtained by Jean Chauvin,[1] inhabitant of Honfleur, for the prohibition of the trade which is made to the country of Canada, in order to represent to his Majesty the consequence and the prejudice which might result from it to the inhabitants of the province of Brittany.

First. That the discovery of the said country of Canada was made by Captain Jacques Cartier, inhabitant of Saint Malo, province of Brittany, under the will and permission of the defunct King Francis I, and the most part at his outlay and expense, for which neither he nor his heirs have had reimbursement.

[1] This is an error, and should be Pierre Chauvin.

That since the inhabitants of Saint Malo and others of the said province of Brittany have always continued this navigation and trade with the savage inhabitants of the said country, and having done in such a way that by their industry they have rendered the said savages tractable, gentle, and familiar, in such wise that by long acquaintance which they have with those with whom they consort each year by means of commerce, some discovery can be made to the satisfaction of his Majesty and the public welfare, which can be expected by means of a man who has been by the said inhabitants of said Saint Malo left with the said savages in order to enter with them into the country to observe their habitations, and what best can be expected in the future, in order to make a favorable report to his Majesty:

It being that the preparations for the voyage of the present year are already made, the vessels freighted, and merchandise bought; and that if it were so that his Majesty ordered the traffic to be prohibited to those who from time immemorial were accustomed to it, it would bring them very great loss, which would not bring any advancement to the service of his Majesty, but instead, as there is a prospect of advancement, and a sure access to said country of Canada, it might be to set it back and put the said savages in distrust, being easy to fall into it, and seeing men with whom they are not accustomed to trade:

Moreover, because the said Chauvin having understood that there was no other easier means to make the business his own than to obtain from his Majesty letters of interdiction to all others from trading to said country of Canada for ten years, he has obtained the said letters under promise that he has made to his Majesty to settle the country and build fortresses, which he cannot do, the thing having been tried by the said Captain Cartier; so the said Chauvin pretends to be sole trader to the said country to frustrate those who at all times have traded there and who hope in a short time to give good and sufficient proof of it to his Majesty by means of the knowledge and access that they have to the said country.

In consideration of which his Majesty shall be very humbly prayed to order that the said inhabitants of the country be peaceably left to enjoy their accustomed trade, or at least until he may be more fully informed of what can be expected, without denying the fruit of their labor to those who have never yet gained anything from it.

Signed, JEAN GOUVERNEUR.

Deputed by the community of Saint Malo to make the present memoir.[1]

[1] After the failure of Cartier's heirs to control the trade of Canada, the people of St. Malo pursued their traffic in a desultory way for a few years; but this document shows that their troubles were not at an end. Pierre Chauvin, who had served the king in his need, was rewarded by a special concession of privileges of the same nature as those granted Chaton and Noüel. Again the Malouins rallied to the defense of their ancient rights. The old arguments employed against Cartier's heirs were brought against Chauvin, who, after fruitless efforts to establish profitable relations with the New Land, died early in the year 1603.

In note on p. 84, Brest, on the coast of Labrador, is referred to. Attention is called to an article respecting this ancient place by Samuel Edward Dawson, Litt.D., Laval., in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, 1905–1906, vol. xi, sec. 2.

FAMILY

N—1428

II. 1st JACQ ARTIER—1469
ILBERT
Jess

III. PIERRE CARTIER
MICHELLE BRUGALLE

III. Jehanne
Jacques.
L'enfant d
Lucas.
Bertheline

IV. Jean 1523
Allain 1527
Pierre 1530
Gilles

IV. ALLAIN CARTIER
MACÉE GOULLAY

III. JEH

J

V. François

III JAC

IV. GILLES CARTIER
GUILLEMETTE MARGUERLIF

CATHE

V. Olivier 1589
François 1593
Bernard .. 1597

V. BERNARD CARTIER
JEHANNE DE LA RUE

VI. Étienne (4) 1632
Marie Lenoir

VII. Yvon. 1656
Jaqueline 1664
Marie 1670
Julie 1673

VII. YVON CARTIER
OLIVE VINCENT

VIII. Yvon 1701
Gillette
Françoise 1703
Jean Joseph 1704
Allain 1707
Allain 1709
Guillemette 1712
Jehanne 1715

VIII. JEAN JOSEPH CARTIER
FRANÇOISE CHENIL

IX. Guillemette 1761
Jean 1764

VIII. JEHANNE CARTIER
JEAN LE GALLAIS

been thus far compiled.

II. 5TH THOMASSE CARTIER—1473
OLIVIER JAMYN

(1) Established at Saint-Briac

(2) Established at Saint-Lunaire

(3) Established at Pleurtuit

(4) Established at Saint-Coulomb

BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
JACQUES CARTIER

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OF
JACQUES CARTIER

1 1545 ❧ Brief recit, & | succincte narration, de la nauiga- | tion faicte es ysles de Canada, Ho- | chelage & Saguenay & autres, auec | particulieres meurs, langaige, & cerimonies des habitans d'icelles: fort | delectable â veoir. |

Figure of man holding scythe in right hand, and resting his left hand on a scroll suspended from tree inscribed with the letter R.

Avec priuilege. | On les uend à Paris au second pillier en la grand | salle du Palais, & en la rue neufue nostredame â | l'enseigne de lescu de frãce, par Ponce Roffet dict | Faucheur, & Anthoine | le Clerc freres. | 1545. |

Size, $6\frac{1}{4}$ x 4.

Title, *reverse*, A Monseigneur le preuost de Paris, etc., 1 l.; + Au Roy, etc., 4 ll.; + text, 48 numbered leaves.

2 1556 Prima Relatione di Jacques | Cartier della Terra Nuoua | detta la nuoua Francia, trouata nell' anno. | M.D.XXXIIII. |

Breve et succinta narratione della | nauigation fatta per ordine de la Maestà Christianissima all' isole di Cana- | da, Hochelaga, Saguenai & altre, al presente dette la nuoua Francia | con particolari costumi, & cerimonie de gli habitanti. |

p. 447: One plate entitled La terra de Hochelaga | nella Noua Francia. | Vide pp. 441–453 of Terzo volume | delle Navigationi et Viaggi | raccolte gia da M. Gio. Battista

Ramusio nel quale si contengono | Le Nauigationi al Mondo Nuouo, alli Antichi incognito, fatte da Don Christoforo | Colombo Genouense . . . | Le Nauigationi fatte dipoi alle dette Indie, poste nella parte verso Maestro | Tramontana, dette hora la Nuoua Francia, scoperte al | re christianiss, la prima volta da Bertoni & Normandi, | Et dipoi da Giouanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino, | & dal Capitano Jacques Cartier. | Si come dimostrano le diverse Relationi, tradotte di lingua Spagnuola | & Francese nella nostra, & raccolte in questo volume. | Con tauole di Geographia, che dimostrano il sito di diverse Isole, Città, & Paesi. | Et Figure diuerse di Piante, & altre cose à noi incognite. | Et con L'Indice copiosissimo di tutte le cose piu not abili in esso contenute. | Con Priuilegio del Sommo Pontefice, & dello Illustriss. Senato Veneto. | In Venetia nella stamperia di Giunti. | L'anno MDLVI. | Folio.

3 1559 Les | Voyages auantureux | di capitain | Ian Alfonce, | sainctongeois | Auec Priuilege | du Roy | — A Poictiers, au Pelican, par Ian de Marnef.

End of l. 68: Fin du present liure, compose & ordoné par Ian Alfonce pilote experimenté es choses narrees en ce liure, natif du pays de Xainctonge, pres la ville de Cognac. Fait a la requeste de Vincent Aymard, marchant du pays de Piedmont, escriuant pour lui Maugis Vumenot, marchant d'Honfleur.

At end: Ce Liure ha este ainsi ordonnè par Oliuier | Bisselin, homme tres-expert a la Mer. Et acheue d'imprimer a la fin du mois d'Auril, en l'An mil cinq cens cinquante neuf. 4to

Title, 1 l.; *au verso*, Avis de Ian Marnef au Lecteur; + 1 p. for A l'ombre de Saingelais, signed Sc. de S. M.; + 2 pp. of verse; + Sonnet d'Alfonce, 1 p.; table, 2 pp.; text, 68 ll. numbered *au recto*.

In some copies the date of printing is, "2 Mai," and behind frontispiece the date of privilege, "7 Mars 1547." The "Avis of Jean Marnef" is *au recto* of second leaf, and *au verso* of fourth leaf is the figure of the mariner's compass.

4 1565 pp. 435–440: Prima relatione di Jacques | Carthier della Terra nuoua | detta la nuoua Francia, trouata nell' anno | M.D.XXXIII. |

pp. 441–453: Breve et succinta narratione della | nauigation fatta per ordine della Maestà Christianissima all' isole di Cana- | da, Hochelaga, Saguenai & altre, al presente dette la nuoua Francia | con particolari costumi, & cerimonie de gli habitanti. |

"In Vinegia nella stamperia degli heredi di Luc'antonio | Giunti nell' Anno M D LXV. |" Vide pp. 435–453 of Terzo volume | della navigationi et viaggi | raccolta gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio | nel quale si contengono | . . . La prima | volta da Bertoni & Normandi, Et dipoi da Giovanni da Verrazzano | Fiorentino, & dal Capitano Jacques Carthier. | . . . — In Venetia nella stamperia de' giunti. | l' anno M.D.LXV. | Folio.

5 1578 Les | Voyages Avan | tvreux dv Capitaine | Iean Alfonce, Sainctongeois | Contenant les Reigles & enseignemens necessaires à | la bonne & seure Nauigation | Plus le moyen de se gouuerner, tant enuers les Barbares qu' au- | tres nations d'vne chacune contrée, les sortes de marchan | dises qui se trouuent abondamment et icelles; | Ensemble, ce qu' on doit porter de petit prix pour troc- | quer auec iceux, afin d'en tirer grand profit. | —A Rouen, | chez Thomas Mallard, libraire; pres le Palais, | deuant l'hostel de ville. | 1578. 4to

Title, 1 l.; + text, 64 ll., numbered; + 1 l. for figure of mariner's compass, and 20 ll. for Tables de la déclinaison, not numbered: the verses omitted.

An edition entitled, Les voyages aventureux de Iean Alfonse Sainctongeois, in 8vo, appeared in Paris in 1598, and another with the same title at Rochelle in 1605.

6 1580 A Shorte and | briefe narration of the two | Nauigations and Discoueries | to the Northweast partes called | Newe Fraunce: | First translated out of French into Italian, by that famous | learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now

turned | into English by John Florio: Worthy the rea- | ding of all Venturers, Trauellers, | and Discouerers. | Imprinted at Lon- | don, by H. Bynneman, dwelling | in Thames streate, neere unto | Baynardes Castell. | Anno Domini. 1580.

Title, 1 l.; To the Right Worshipful Edmond Bray Esquire, etc., signed, I. Florio, 1 l.

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7 1598 Discours | du | voyage | fait par le capi- | taine Jaques Cartier | aux Terres-neufues de Canadas, No- | rembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, & | pays adiacens, dite nouuelle France, | avec particulieres mœurs, langage, & | ceremonies des habitans d'icelle. | [marque d'imprimeur avec la devise: Leo | duce |] A Rouen, | de l'imprimerie | de Raphaël du Petit Val, Libraire & Imprimeur | du Roy, à l'Ange Raphaël. | M. D. XCVIII. | Avec Permission. |

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Title, 1 l.; L'Imprimeur | aux Lecteurs. | Salut. | 1 l.; Sur | le voyage | de Canadas. | Par C. B. | 2 ll.; Ensuyt le lan- | gage des pays et royau- | mes de Hochelage & Canadas, au- | trement appelee par nous la nou- | uelle France. | 3 ll.

Escutcheon Extraict du Privilege. | signed, "Cavelier," 1 l.; Discours | du voyage fait | par le capitaine Jacques | Cartier en la terre—Neufue de Canadas | dite nouuelle France, en l'an mil | cinq cens trente quatre. | 24 ll.

8 1598 Edict | contenant le pouvoir donné au | marquis de Cottenmael et de la Roche | pour la conqueste des terres Canada, Labrador, isle de Sable, Noremberg et pays adiacents.— | Rouen, | Ralph. du Petit-Val, | 1598. |

⁂ 8vo, 24 pp.

9 1600 Certaine Voyages | containing the Discouerie of the Gulfe of Sainct Laur | ence to the West of Newfoundland, and from | thence up the river of Canada, to Hochelaga, | Saguenay, and other places: with a Description | of the temperature of the climate, the disposi- | tion of the people, the nature, commodities, and | riches of the soile, and other matters of speciall | moment. |

The first relation of Jaques Carthier of Saint Malo, of the New land called New France, newly discouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

A shorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and manners of the inhabitants therein.

The third voyage of discouery made by Captaine Jaques Cartier, 1540, unto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, with three tall ships to the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, 1542.

pp. 201–242 in The | Third and Last | Volume of the Voy | ages Navigations, Traf | fiques and Discoueries of the English Nation, and in | some few places, where they have not been, of strangers, per | formed within and before the time of these hundred yeeres, to all | parts of the Newfound world of America, or the West Indies, from 73. | degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude | etc., etc., etc., | Collected by Richard Hakluyt Preacher, and sometimes |

student of Christ-Church, in Oxford, | Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralfe | Newberie, and Robert Barker | Anno Dom. 1600.

Black-letter, folio.

10 1606 Prima relatione | di Jacques Carthier | Della Terra Nuoua detta la nuoua Francia, | trouata nell' anno 1534. |

Breve, et succinta narratione della | nauigatione fatta per ordine della Maestà Christianissima all' isole di | Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenai, & altre, al presente det- | te la nuoua Francia con particolari costumi, | & cerimonie di gli habitanti. | Vide pp. 370–385 of t. iii.

Delle Navigationi et Viaggi | Raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio. . . . | — In Venetia, | M.DCVI. Folio.

11 1609 Histoire | de la Novvelle | France | Contenant les navigations, découvertes, & Habi- | tations faites par les François ès Indes Occiden- | tales & Nouvelle-France souz l'avoeu & autho- | rité de noz Rois Tres-Chretiens, & les diverses | fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses, | depuis cent ans jusques à hui. | En quoy est comprise l'Histoire Morale, Naturele, & Geo- | graphique de ladite province: Avec les Tables & | Figures d'icelle. | Par Marc Lescarbot Advocat en Parlement, | Témoin oculaire d'vne partie des choses ici recitées. | Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere cadentque. | A Paris | chez Iean Milot, tenant sa boutique sur les degrez | de la grand'salle du Palais. | M.DC.IX. | Avec Privilege dv Roy. |

⁂ 8vo.

Title, 1 l.; + dédicace à Henry IV, 1 l.; + à la Reine, 1 l.; + au Dauphin, 1 l.; + à la Reine Marguerite, 1 leaf and a half; + à la France, 4 leaves and a half; + 40 ll., not numbered, for sommaires, adresse au lecteur et privilége dated 27 November, 1608; + 888 pp. Charts: at p. 207, plan of the port of Ganabara, Brazil; at p. 236, plan of la terre nevve, Grande Riviere de Canada, et côtes de l'Ocean

en la Novvelle France; at p. 480, plan of Port Royal en la Novvelle France. Par Marc Lescarbot, 1609. (Jan Swelinck, sculp.; J. Millot, excudit.) + 1 l. for title of

12 1609 Les Muses | de la Novvelle | France. | A Monseigneur | le Chancellier. | *Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante* | *Trita solo.* | A Paris | Chez Iean Millot sur les degrez de | la grand'salle du Palais. | M.DC.IX.—Avec privelege du Roy |

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1 l. for title; + 2 ll. for épitre à Nicolas Brulart; + 66 pp. of text.

This is the first edition.

13 1609 Nova Francia: | Or the | Description | of that part of | New France, | which is one continent with | Virginia | Described in the three late Voyages and Plantation made by | Monsieur de Pourtrincourt, into the countries | called by the Frenchmen La Cadié, | lying to the Southwest of | Cape Breton | Together with an excellent generall Treatise of all the commodities | of the said countries, and maners of the naturall | inhabitants of the same | Translated out of the French into English by | P. E. | Londini | impensis Georgii Bishop. | 1609. |

4to.

Title, 1 l.; + letter to Prince Henry, 1 l.; + epistle to the reader, 1 l.; + table, 6 ll.; + 307 ll. of text and a chart.

This is a paraphrase of Lescarbot's work of the same date made by Pierre Erondelle, a Protestant minister, for Hakluyt. The name of Lescarbot is not mentioned in the work.

14 1611 Histoire | de la Novvelle- | France | Contenant les navigations, découvertes et habi- | tations faites par les François és Indes Occiden- | tales et Nouvelle-France souz l'avoeu et autho- | rité de noz Roys Tres-Chrétiens, et les

diverses | fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses, | depuis cent ans jusques à hui. | En quoy est comprise l'Histoire Morale, Naturele et Geo- | graphique de ladite province: avec les Tables. | et Figures d'icelle. | Par Marc Lescarbot, Advocat en Parlement. | Témoin oculaire d'vne partie des choses ici recitées. | *Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere cadentque.* | —A Paris | Chez Iean Millot, devant St. Barthelemi aux trois | Coronnes: Et en sa boutique sur les degrez de la | grand'salle du Palais. | M.DC.XI. | Avec privilege |

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4 pp. Épitre à Nicolas Brulart; + 77 pp.; + 4 illustrations as follows: Port Royal, the land inhabited by the French in Florida, the Port of Ganabara, and Terre Neuve;

au verso of last leaf, table of 45 errata, beginning " L'avteur n'ayant pas esté present au commencement de l'impression quelques fautes sont survenues en icelle, telles qui s'ensuit."

15 1613 Owing to the numerous errors in the edition of 1611, Millot thought best to issue a new edition of the work, and this he called the second edition, though it was really the third. The title is the same as in the edition of the year before, except that he adds after the Latin quotation the words, " Seconde Edition, revisé, corrigée et augmentée par l'Autheur," and also " du Roy" after " privelege." The errata are all corrected and the table omitted. The collation, except date, is the same as the previous edition. This is the best edition of the work, and was reprinted by Tross in 1866. It was translated into German in 1614, under the title,

Lescarbot, Marc. | Nova Francia. | Gründliche History | von Erfundung der Grossen Landschafft | Nova Francia | oder New Frankreich genannt. | Aus einem zu Parisz | gedruckten Französischen Buch. | . . . ins Teutsch gebracht. | —— Augspurg. | Chrysostomus Dabertzhofer. | 1613. |

4to.

4 ll. preliminary; + 86 pp. text.

16 1618 Histoire | de la Novvelle- | France. | Contenant les navigations, découvertes, & ha- | bitations faites par les François és Indes Occi- | dentales & Nouvelle-France, par commission | de nos Roys Tres-Chrétiens, & les diverses | fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses | depuis cent ans jusques à hui. | En quoy est comprise l'histoire Morale, Naturelle, & | Geographique des provinces cy décrites: avec | les Tables & Figures necessaires. | Par Marc Lescarbot Advocat en Parlement | Témoin oculaire d'vne partie des choses ici recitées. | (Petite vignette.) —A Paris. | Chez Adrian Perier, ruë saint | Iacques, au Compas d'or. M.DC.XVIII. |

⁂ In-8.

Title, 1 l.; + 3 ll. for Epître au Roy; + 2 ll. for Epître au Président Jeannin; + 4 ll. for dédicace à la France; + 16 ll. for sommaires; + 1 l. for avis au lecteur; + text, pp. 1–970; + 1 l. for errata; + 1 l. for title of the

Muses | de la Nouvelle- | France | A Monseigneur | le Chancellier. | *Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius antè* | *Trita solo* | (Vignette.) A Paris | Chez Adrian Perier, ruë saint | Iacques, au Compas d'or. | M.DC.XVIII. |

Text, pp. 3–76; + the 4 charts of the edition of 1612.

17 1744 Histoire | et | Description Generale | de la | Nouvelle France | avec | Le Journal Historique | d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi | dans l'Amerique Septentrionnale | Par C. P. De Charlevoix, de la Compagnie | de Jesus | Tome Première | A Paris. | Chez. Didot, Librarie, Quai des Augustins | a la Bible d'or. | M.DCC XLIV. | Avec approbation & Privelege du Roy |

6 vols. 12mo.

Vol. i: title, 1 l.; + dedication, 2 ll.; + avertissement, 4 ll.; + text, 439 pp. Vide pp. 11–34.

The same in English, by John Gilmary Shea, in six volumes, 4to. New York. Francis P. Harper. 1900.

18 1812 A | General Collection | of the | Best and Most Interesting | Voyages and Travels | in all parts of the World; | many of which are now first translated into English. | Digested on a New Plan. | By John Pinkerton | Author of Modern Geography, &c. &c. | London | Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row; | and Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. | 1812. |

4to.

Vide The First Relation of Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the New Land, called New France, newly discovered in the year of Our Lord 1534.

pp. 629–640. A Short and Brief Narration of the Navigation made by the Commandment of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and Divers others, which now are called New France; with the particular customs and manners of the inhabitants therein.

pp. 641–664. The Third Voyage of Discovery made by Captain James Cartier, 1540, unto the Countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

pp. 665–674.

19 1841 Archives | des Voyages | ou | Collection d'anciennes relations | inédites ou très-rares | de lettres, mémoires; itinéraires et autres documents | relatifs a la Géographie et aux voyages | suives | d'analyses d'anciens voyages et d'anecdotes relatives aux voyageurs | tirées des mémoires du temps | ouvrage | destiné a servir de complément a tous les recueils de voyages | Français et Etrangers. | Par H. Ternaux-Compans. | Paris, | Arthus Bertrand, Libraire-Editeur, | Libraire de la Société de Géographie, | Editeur des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, | Rue Hautefeuille, 23. |

8vo. 1841. pp. 117–153, vol. i.

Vide Discours du Voyage fait par le capitaine Jaques Cartier aux terres-neufues de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, et pays adiacens, dites nouuelle France, auec particulieres mœurs, langage, et ceremonies des habitants d'icelle.—A Rouen, de l'imprimerie de Raphaël du Petit-Val, libraire et imprimeur du roy, à l'ange Raphaël. M.D.XCVIII.—Avec permission.

Seconde navigatione faicte par le commandement et vouloir du très Chrestien Roy francoys premier de ce nom au parachevement de la descouverture des terres occidantalles estans soubz le climat et paralleles des terres et royaulme du d. sire et | par luy précédantement ja commancées à faire descouvrir. Icelle navigation faicte par

Jacques Cartier natif de sainct-Malo de l'isle en Bretagne, pillote du d. sire. En l'an mil cinq cens trante six.

pp. 1–66, vol. ii. H. Ternaux-Compans.

20 1843 Voyages | de | Découverte | au Canada, | entre les années 1534 et 1542, | par | Jacques Quartier, le Sieur de Roberval, | Jean Alphonse de Xanctoigne, &c. | suivis | de la description de Québec et de ses environs en | 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu | de l'hivernement de Jacques Quartier en 1535–36. | (Avec Gravures fac-simile.) | Réimprimés sur d'anciennes relations, et publiés | sous la direction | de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Quebec: | Imprimé chez William Cowan et Fils. | 1843.

8vo, 130 pp.

Title, 1 l.; + avertissement, 1 l.; + half-title, Les | Trois Voyages | de | Jacques Quartier | au Canada | en | 1534, 1535 et 1540 | 1 l.; + discours, 77 pp.; + half-title, Le Routier de Jean Alphonse de Xantoigne, etc., etc., 1 l.; + Le Routier | etc.; + pp. 81–87; + half-title, Voyage du Sieur de Roberval au Canada 1542. Le Voyage, etc., 1 l.; + pp. 91–96; + half-title, Deux lettres de Jacques Noël, etc.; + pp. 99–101; + facsimile plan, Abitation de Quebec, Appendice, pp. 103–119; + Appendice, Facsimile d'une carte dans les voyages de Champlain Edition de 1613; Appendice, Carte de Quebec; Appendice, Du lieu ou Jacques Quartier, etc., and table, pp. 121–130.

21 1846 Les | Navigateurs | Français | Histoire des Navigations, Découvertes | et Colonisations Francaises | Par Léon Guérin | Auteur de l'Histoire Maritime et des Marins illustres de la France, | Paris, Belin-Leprieur et Morizot; Editeurs | Rue Pavée-Saint André, des Arts. 5. | 1846.

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Vide Jacques Cartier, Maitre Pilote et Capitaine Général des Vaisseaux and Expeditions Des Terres Neuves, De. 1534 à 1543, pp. 55–103.

22 1857 Voyageurs — Anciens et Modernes. | Voyageurs Modernes. | Seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles. | Jacques Cartier, | Voyageur Français. | (1534–1542) | Portrait of Jacques Cartier.—D'aprés un dessin à la plume conservé à la Bibliothéque Impériale. |

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23 1857 Saint-Malo | Illustré | par ses Marins | précédé | d'une Notice Historique sur cette ville | Depuis sa fondation jusqu' à nos jours. | Par M. Charles Cunat, | Ancien Officier de la Marine, Chevalier de la Légion-d'Honneur. | Rennes, | Imprimere de F. Péalat, rue de Bordeaux. | 1857. |

8vo, 487 pp.

Vide pp. 59–73 for notice of Cartier.

24 1863 Bref Recit et Succincte Narration | de la | Navigation | faite en MDXXXV et MDXXXVI | par le capitaine | Jacques Cartier | aux iles de | Canada | Hochelaga, Saguenay | et autres | Réimpression figurée | de l'edition originale rarissime de MDXLV | avec les variantes des manuscrits | de la Bibliothéque Impériale | Précédée | d'une brève et succincte | Introduction | historique | par M. D'Avezac | Paris | Libràire Tross | Passage des deux Pavillons (Palais-Royal), No. 8, 1863.

8vo, pp. i–xvi, 68.

Half-title, Relation Originale de Jacques Cartier, 1 l.; + title, 1 l.; + introduction, 16 ll., i–xvi; + title in facsimile and dedication, 1 l.; + Au Roy, 4 ll.; + text and vocabu-

lary, 43 ll. (7 numbered twice, 8 omitted); + Notes, Variantes, Corrections, et Additions, 20 ll.

25 1865 Voyage | de | Jaqves Cartier | av Canada | en 1534 | Nouvelle édition, publiée d'apres l édition de 1598 | et d'après Ramusio. | Par M. H. Michelant. | avec deux cartes. | Documents Inédits | sur | Jaques Cartier et le Canada | communiqués | Par M. Alfred Ramé | Paris. | Librairie Tross | 5, Rue Neuve-Des-Petits-Champs, 5. | 1865. |

8vo.

Half-title, Voyage | de | Jaqves Cartier | 1534: | *au verso*, Imprimerie Jouast | Rue Saint Honoré, 338. | A Paris. | 1 l.; + title, as above, 1 l.; + reproduction of title of 1598, Discovrs | dv. Voyage, etc. | 1 l.; + L'Imprimevr | aux Lecteurs | Salvt | 1 l.; + Svr | Le Voyage | de Canadas, | Par C. B. | 2 ll.; + Ensvyt Le | Langage des Pays, etc., 3 ll.; + escutcheon and Extraict du Priuilege, 1 l.; + introduction, 4 ll., pp. i–vii; + Discovrs, Dv Voyage, 26 ll., pp. 17–67; + vocabulary, 2 ll.; + 2 plans; + Appendice | au | Voyage | de | Jacques Cartier | ; + half-title, *au verso*, Imprimerie Jouaust | Rue Saint Honoré, 338 | A Paris. | 1 l. Documents Inédits | Sur | Jaques Cartier | title, 1 l.; + subtitle, 1 l.; + half-title and text, 26 ll., numbered 4–53; *au verso*, Imprimé. Par Jouaust etc., etc.; | + 1 l., announcements.

26 1866 Histoire | de la | Nouvelle-France | par Marc Lescarbot | suivie des | Muses De Là Nouvelle-France | Nouvelle Édition | Publiée par Edwin Tross | avec quatre cartes Geographiques | Premier Volume | Paris | Librairie Tross | 5, Rue Neuve-Des-Petits-Champs, 5. | 1866. |

Half-title, *au verso*, figure of anchor with rope and scroll, bearing the words OCCVPA PORTVM, and below scroll, IOVAVST; + title, 1 l.; + title of 1612, 1 l.; + au Roy, 2 ll.; + A. Monseigneur Messire Pierre Jeannin, 2 ll.; + A La France, 4 ll., numbered to xviii; + Au Lectevr, 1 l.; *au*

verso, Extrait du Privilège du Roy, unnumbered; + text, 851 pp.; ending with Lovè Soit Diev (1) Isidor, Pelus, *ad casium scholasticum*, Epist. 146, and colophon; + 14 pp. Sommaires, unnumbered; + 1 l., title of Les Muses | de la Nouvelle- | France | facsimile of edition of 1612; + 2 ll., A | Monseigneur | Messire Nicolas | Brvlart Seignevr | numbered to 6; + 77 pp. text; *au verso* of p. 83, Imprimé par D. Jouaust | Pour La Librairie Tross | À Paris. | All the title-pages are alike except difference in number of volume.

27 1867 Relation Originale | du Voyage de | Jacques Cartier | au Canada | en 1534 | Documents inédits | sur | Jacques Cartier et le Canada | (nouvelle série) | publiés par | H. Michelant et A. Ramé | Accompagnés de deux portraits de Cartier et de deux vues de son Manoir | Circular portrait wearing cap. Paris | Librairie Tross | 5, Rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, 5 | 1867 |

8vo. pp. i–viii, 76, 54.

Frontispiece, Vue du Manoir de Jacques Cartier, 1 l.; + title as above, 1 l.; + introduction, 4 ll., i–vii; + Voiage de Jacques Cartier, 26 ll., numbered 2–51; + Appendice, 5 ll., pp. 53–62; + 1 l. with design of open book above and crossed keys below; + 1 l., half-title, Note sur le Manoir de Jacques Cartier; *au verso*, Vue a vol d'oiseau du Manoir de Cartier; + title, Note | sur | le Manoir | de | Jacques Cartier | par | M. Alfred Ramé | Circular portrait without cap. Paris | Librairie Tross | 1867; + Note, 4 ll., numbered 70–76; + half-title, Documents Inédits | sur | le Canada. | + title, Documents inédits | sur | le Canada | communiqués par | M. Alfred Ramé | deuxième série | Escutcheon. Paris | Librairie Tross | 1867 | + Documents Inédits | &c. 22½ ll., numbered 6–51; + Table des Documents, 2 ll., numbered 52–54; + colophon and imprint, Paris, imprimerie Jouaust, | 338, rue Saint-Honoré. | + 1 l. of announcements.

28 1868 Les grands coureurs d'aventures | Jacques Cartier | par | H. Émile Chevalier. | Paris | Lebigre-Duquesne, libraire-éditeur | rue Hautefeuille, 16 | tous droits réservés. | 1868. |

16mo, 314 pp.

Subtitle, "Jacques Cartier"; Dédicace, "A. M. le Dr A. Guérin | Chirurgien de l'hôpital Saint-Louis," pp. 1–4, and dated, "Paris, 2 Janvier 1866." Avis "Au Lecteur" [p. 5], date, "19 février 1868."

29 1868 Les | marins français | (Suite et complément de la *France héroïque*) | Vies et récits dramatiques | d'après les documents originaux | par | M. Bathild Bouniol. | tome premier. | Préface.—Hue Quiéret.—Béthencourt.— | Jean de Vienne. — Laudonnière. — | Villegagnon. — | Léry et Yves d'Evreux.— | Pyrard.—Le capitaine Polain.—De Brue. | —Cartier.—Champlain. | —les flibustiers. | Le chevalier Paul. | —Sourdis.—Duquesne. — Torbin. | Paris | Ambroise Bray, libraire éditeur, | 20, rue Cassette, 20. | tous droits réservés. | 1868. |

16mo, 408 pp.

Subtitle, "Les | Marins Français | Tome premier." *Au verso*, "Cambrai.—Imprimerie de Régnier, Farer." The portion relative to Cartier occupies pp. 206–223; it has for half-title, "Jacques Cartier."

30 1869 Documentary | History of the State of Maine | Edited by | William Willis | Vol. I | Containing a | History of the Discovery of Maine | by | J. G. Kohl | with an appendix | On the Voyages of the Cabots | By M. D'Avezac, of Paris | etc., etc. Portland. | Bailey and Noyes | 1869. |

8vo.

Vide pp. 320–347. First Voyage of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, in 1534. Second Voyage of Jacques Cartier, etc., etc. Third Voyage of

Jacques Cartier, etc., etc. Expeditions of Jean François de la Roque de Roberval and Jacques Cartier to Canada in 1540 and 1543.

31 1869 (Extrait du cahier de septembre 1869, des Annales de philosophie chrétienne.) | Quels étaient les sauvages | que rencontra Jacq. Cartier sur les rives du | Saint-Laurent? | [At the end] N. O., ancien missionnaire. | Versailles.—Imp. Beau, rue de l'Orangerie, 36 |

8vo, 7 pp.

32 1879 B. Murillo The Little Banner-Maker, | and the Orphan of St. Malo. | J. C. | Tales of Youthful Genius. | London: | Dean and Son, 160A, Fleet Street. Late of Ludgate Hill. | 1879. |

8vo.

The Orphan of St. Malo, pp. 39–61.

33 1880 Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée. | Directeur: Arthur de la Borderie | . . . — Nantes, | place du Commerce 4, 1880. |

8vo, 5e série, tome viii.

"Documents inédits | sur | Jacques Cartier et ses compagnons | 1555." Signed, "Arthur de la Borderie."—Vide pp. 376–380.

34 1882 Cours D'Histoire | du Canada | Par | J. B. A. Ferland, Prêtre | Professor d'Histoire à l'Université, Laval. | Première Partie. | 1534–1663. | Deuxième Édition. | Quebec | N. S. Hardy, Libraire-Éditeur | 9 et 10, Rue Notre Dame | 1882. |

pp. 17–45.

35 Jacques Cartier | Recherches sur sa personne et sur sa famille | par | Hte Harvut | Secrétaire de la Mairie de

Saint-Malo. | —Nantes | Imprimerie Vincent Forest et Emile Grimaud | 4, Place du Commerce, 4 | 1884 |

8vo, 14 pp.

Au verso of title, "Extrait de la *Revue de la Bretagne et de Vendée.*" At bottom of p. 14, "Nantes.—Imp. Vincent Forest et Emile Grimaud, Place du Commerce, 4."

36 Jacques Cartier and his successors. By Rev. Benjamin F. DeCosta, D.D.

Narrative and Critical | History of America. | Edited | By Justin Winsor | Librarian of Harvard University | Corresponding Secretary Massachusetts Historical Society. | Vol. IV. | Boston and New York, | Houghton, Mifflin and Company | The Riverside Press, Cambridge. |

pp. 47–80.

37 Memoires | et | Comptes Rendus. | dela | Societé Royale | du | Canada | Pour l'Année 1884. | Tome II, | Montreal | Dawson Frerès, Libraires-Editeurs. | 1885. |

Deux points d'histoire | Par Paul De Cazes | pp. 1–6.

38 1886 Collection Picard | Bibliothèque d'éducation nationale | Les grands français. | Les Français | au | Canada | (découverte et colonisation) | par | Antoine Chalamet | professeur d'histoire au lycée de Vanves | Avec onze gravures. | Paris | librairie Picard-Bernheim et Cie | 11, rue Soufflot, 11 | tous droits réservés. |

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91; Le troisième voyage de Cartier, p. 105; Portrait de "Jacques Cartier," p. 16.

39 1888 Les Français au delà des Mers. | Les | Découvreurs Français | du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ Siècle. | Côtes de Guinée, | du Brésil, | et de l'Amérique du Nord, | par Paul Gaffarel. | Ouvrage orné de 3 cartes anciennes et de 2 portraits. | Paris, | Challamel et C^ie^, éditeurs, Librairie Algérienne et Coloniale, | 5 rue Jacob, et rue | de Furstenberg 2, | 1888. |

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40 1888 Jacques Cartier | Documents Nouveaux | Recueillis par | F. Joüon des Longrais | Ancien éléve de l'Ecole des Chartes. | [Reproduction de la signature de Cartier.]— Paris | Alphonse Picard | libraire-éditeur | 82, rue Bonaparte, 82 | 1888. |

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41 1888 Jacques Cartier's First Voyage. | By W. F. Ganong, A. M. |

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Montreal | Dawson Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs | 1888. | pp. 121–136.

42 1889 The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Cartier to Champlain | By W. F. Ganong, A.M. |

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43 1889 N. E. Dionne | Jacques Cartier | ouvrage couronné par son honneur le lieutenant- | Gouverneur de la Province de Québec. | Sunt munera lauri | Québec | Imprimerie Léger Brousseau | 9, rue Buade, 9 | 1889. |

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44 1889 Jacques Cartier, | his Life and Voyages | by | Joseph Pope. |

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45 1889 Discours | prononcé lors de | L'inauguration du monument | Cartier-Brèbeuf | le 24 Juin 1889 | Par M. Chauveau | Commandeur de l'ordre de Pie IX, chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Grégoire, | officier de l'Instruction publique de France, docteur ès lettres et | en droit de l'Université Laval, membre de la Société Royale du Canada, membre associé de l'Aca- | démie Royale de Belgique, membre de la | société d'Histoire Diplomatique, | membre correspondant de | l'Athénée Louisianais | etc., etc., etc. | Donnacona | Poésie par le même | Montréal | C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeurs | 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul | 1889 |

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46 1890 Premier Voyage | du | Jacques Cartier | au | Canada | Édition Canadienne du | Discours du | Voyage | fait par le | Capitaine Jacques Cartier | publiée par | Raoul de Tilly | Lévis: | Imprimerie du Travailleur de Levis | 1890 |

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47 1890 Jacques Cartier | Sa Vie et ses Voyages | par | Joseph Pope. Traduit de l'Anglais | par | L. Philippe Sylvain | (de la Bibliothèque du Parlement.) | Ottawa. | 1890 |

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24–55; + chap. iii, Le deuxieme voyage, 19½ ll., 56–94; + chap. iv, Le deuxième voyage (suite), 10 ll., 95–114; + chap. v, Le troisième voyage, 8¼ ll., 115–131; + chap. vi, Derniers Actes de la vie de Jacques Cartier, 5 ll., 131–140; + Appendice, 11 ll., 141–162; + Index alphabétique des personnes et des lieux, 5 ll., 163–172; et dessin a l'Ancien Hochelaga, facing p. 84.

48 1890 Jacques Cartier | and his | Four Voyages to Canada | An Essay | With Historical, Explanatory and Philological Notes | By | Hiram B. Stevens, B.C.L. | Montreal | W. Drysdale & Co., Publishers, | 232 St. James Street. | No date.

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50 1891 N. E. Dionne | La | Nouvelle-France | de Cartier à Champlain | 1540–1603 | Québec | Typographie de C. Darveau | 82 à 84, rue de la Montagne. | 1891. |

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51 Les points obscurs des Voyages de Jacques Cartier. | Par Paul De Cazes. | Jacques Cartier; Questions de calendrier civil et ecclésiastique. | Par L'Abbé Hospice Verreau, LLD.

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52 1892 Jacques Cartier; Questions de droit politique, de législation, et d'usages maritimes. | Par L'Abbé Hospice Verreau, LLD |

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53 1892 The | Results in Europe | of | Cartier's Explorations, | 1542-1603. | by | Justin Winsor. | [Reprinted, Seventy-five copies, from the Proceedings of the | Massachusetts Historical Society.] Cambridge: | John Wilson and Son. | University Press. | 1892. |

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54 1893 The | Anticipations of Cartier's Voyages, | 1492–1534. | by | Justin Winsor. | [One Hundred Copies, privately reprinted from the Proceedings of | the Massachusetts Historical Society, January, 1893.] | Cambridge, U. S. A. | John Wilson and Son. | University Press. | 1893. |

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Folding maps at end: American Sections of the Máiollo Map, 1527, No. 1, No. 2.

55 1895 Cartier's Course — a Last Word. | By the Right Reverend M. F. Howley. | West Newfoundland. |

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56 1897 Jacques Cartier. Questions de Lois et Coutumes maritimes. | Par M. L'Abbé Hospice Verreau, docteur ès lettres. |

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57 1898 La Nouvelle France. | Par | Eugène Gúenin. | Tome 1. | Paris. | Librairie. Arthur Fourneau | 18. Rue de la Sorbonne, 18. | 1898. |

Premier voyage de Jacques Cartier | à la Nouvelle-France | pp. 11–33.

58 1900 Découverté | et | Évolution Cartographique | de | Terre-Neuve | et des | Pays Circonvoisins | 1497–1501–1769 | Essais de Géographie Historique et Documentaire | par | Henry Harrisse. | Paris | H. Welter, Éditeur | 4 Rue Bernard-Palissy, 4 | London | Henry Stevens Sons & Stiles | 39, Great Russell Street, W. C. | MDCCCC. |

4to, lxxii, 420 pp.

Numerous passages relating to Cartier; notably Premier voyage | (with chart), p. 135; Second voyage | (with chart), p. 137; Troisième voyage, p. 171.

ITINERARY OF CARTIER'S VOYAGES

ITINERARY OF CARTIER'S VOYAGES

AFTER THE CALENDRIER CIVIL ET ECCLÉSIASTIQUE OF THE ABBÉ VERREAU

Voyage of 1534

April	20	Monday,	Cartier leaves St. Malo.
May	10	Sunday,	Arrives at Bona Vista.
"	21	Thursday,	Reaches Isle of Birds.
"	24 or 25	Sunday or Monday,	Enters the harbor of Quirpont.
"	9	Tuesday,	Leaves Quirpont.
"	10	Wednesday,	Enters the harbor of Brest.
"	11	Thursday,	St. Barnabas Day. Hears mass and explores coast in boats.
"	12	Friday,	Names St. Anthoine, Servan; plants cross and names river St. Jacques, and harbor, Jacques Cartier.
"	13	Saturday,	Returns to ships.
"	14	Sunday,	Hears mass.
"	15	Monday,	Sails toward north coast of Newfoundland.
"	16	Tuesday,	follows the west coast of Newfoundland and names the Monts des Granches.
"	17	Wednesday,	Names the Colombiers, Bay St. Julien, and Capes Royal and Milk.
"	18	Thursday,	Stormy weather to 24th; explores coast between Capes Royal and Milk.
"	24	Wednesday,	Festival of St. John the Baptist. Names Cape St. John.

May	25 &	Thursday &	Weather bad; sails toward the
"	26	Friday,	west and southwest; discovers Isles Margaux, Brion, and Cape Dauphin.
June	27	Saturday,	Coasts toward west-southwest.
"	28	Sunday,	Reaches Cape Rouge.
"	29	Monday,	Festival of St. Peter. Names Alezay and Cape St. Peter, and continues course west-southwest.
"	30	Tuesday,	Toward evening descries land appearing like two islands.
July	1	Wednesday,	Names Capes Orleans and Savages.
"	2	Thursday,	Names Bay St. Leonarius
"	3	Friday,	Continues northerly course and names Cape Hope.
"	4	Saturday,	Names Port St. Martin; remains there until 12th.
"	5	Sunday,	
"	6	Monday,	Festival of the Transfiguration. Hears mass and examines coast.
"	7	Tuesday,	Ships visited by savages.
"	9	Thursday,	Penetrates Bay Chaleur.
"	10	Friday &	Continues explorations.
"	11	Saturday,	
"	12	Sunday,	Leaves Port St. Martin and makes Cape Pratto.
"	13	Monday,	Seeks shelter of Cape owing to storm.
"	14	Tuesday,	Enters river farther north and remains until 16th.
"	16	Thursday,	Sails up river and remains until 25th, on account of storm.
"	22	Wednesday,	Lands and meets savages.
"	24	Friday,	Plants a cross.

July 25	Saturday,	Sets sail with good wind toward Anticosti.
" 27	Monday,	Approaches coast.
" 28	Tuesday,	Names Cape St. Louis.
" 29	Wednesday,	Names Cape Montmorency and doubles East Cape of Anticosti.
Aug. 1	Saturday,	St. Peter in chains. Enters Strait St. Peter.
" 5	Wednesday,	Names Cape Thiennot.
" 8	Saturday,	Approaches west coast of Newfoundland.
" 9	Sunday,	Arrives at Blanc Sablon, and makes preparations to return home.
" 15	Saturday,	Festival of the Assumption. Hears mass and sets sail for France.
Sept. 5	Saturday,	Arrives at St. Malo.

Second Voyage, 1535

May 16	Sunday, First,	Pentecost. The crew commune at Cathedral and receive Episcopal benediction.
" 19	Wednesday,	Departure from St. Malo.
" 26	Wednesday,	Contrary winds.
June 25	Friday,	Ships separated by storm.
July 7	Wednesday,	Cartier reaches the Isle of Birds.
" 8	Thursday,	Enters Strait of Belle Isle.
" 15	Thursday,	Reaches the rendezvous at Blanc Sablon.
" 26	Monday,	Ships meet.
" 29	Thursday,	Follows north coast and names Isles St. William.
" 30	Friday,	names Isles St. Marthy.
" 31	Saturday,	Names Cape St. Germain.

ITINERARY OF CARTIER'S VOYAGES

Aug.	1	Sunday,	Contrary winds; enters St. Nicholas Harbor.
"	8	Sunday,	Sails toward the southern coast.
"	9	Monday,	Contrary wind; turns toward north and stops in Bay St. Lawrence.
"	13	Friday,	Leaves Bay St. Lawrence, approaches Anticosti, and doubles the western point.
"	15	Sunday,	Festival of the Assumption. Names Anticosti, Isle of the Assumption.
"	16	Monday,	Continues along the coast.
"	17	Tuesday,	Turns toward the north.
"	19	Thursday,	Arrives at the Round Islands.
"	20	Friday,	Ranges the coast with his boats.
"	21	Saturday,	Sails west, but obliged to return to the Round Islands owing to head winds.
"	24	Tuesday,	Leaves the Round Islands and sets sail toward south.
"	29	Sunday,	Martyrdom of St. John Baptist. Reaches harbor of Isles St. John.
Sept.	1	Wednesday,	Quits the harbor and directs his course toward the Saguenay.
"	2	Thursday,	Leaves the Saguenay and reaches the Isle of Hares.
"	6	Monday,	Arrives at the Isle of Filberts.
"	8	Wednesday,	Our Lady's Day. Hears mass.
"	9	Thursday,	Donnacona visits Cartier.
"	13	Monday,	Sails toward the River St. Charles.
"	14	Tuesday,	Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Reaches entrance of St. Charles River. [1]
"	15	Wednesday,	Plants buoys to guide his ships.

[1] From the narrative it would seem that Cartier had previously named the place St. Croix, but the narrative having been written after the event, he naturally used the name to designate it.

Sept. 16	Thursday,	Two ships are laid up for the winter.
" 17	Friday,	Donnacona tries to dissuade Cartier from going to Hochelaga.
" 18	Saturday,	Donnacona's stratagem to deter Cartier from going to Stadaconé.
" 19	Sunday,	Cartier starts for Hochelaga with his pinnace and two boats.
" 28	Tuesday,	Enters Lake St. Peter.
" 29	Wednesday,	Leaves his pinnace, and proceeds with his boats.
Oct. 2	Saturday,	Arrives at Hochelaga.
" 3	Sunday,	Lands and visits town and mountain, which he named Mount Royal, and leaves Sunday.
" 4	Monday,	Regains his pinnace.
" 5	Tuesday,	Takes his way back to Stadaconé.
" 7	Thursday,	Stops at Three Rivers and plants cross upon an island.
" 11	Monday,	Arrives at St. Croix.
" 12	Tuesday,	Donnacona visits Cartier.
" 13	Wednesday,	Cartier and some of his men visit Stadaconé.

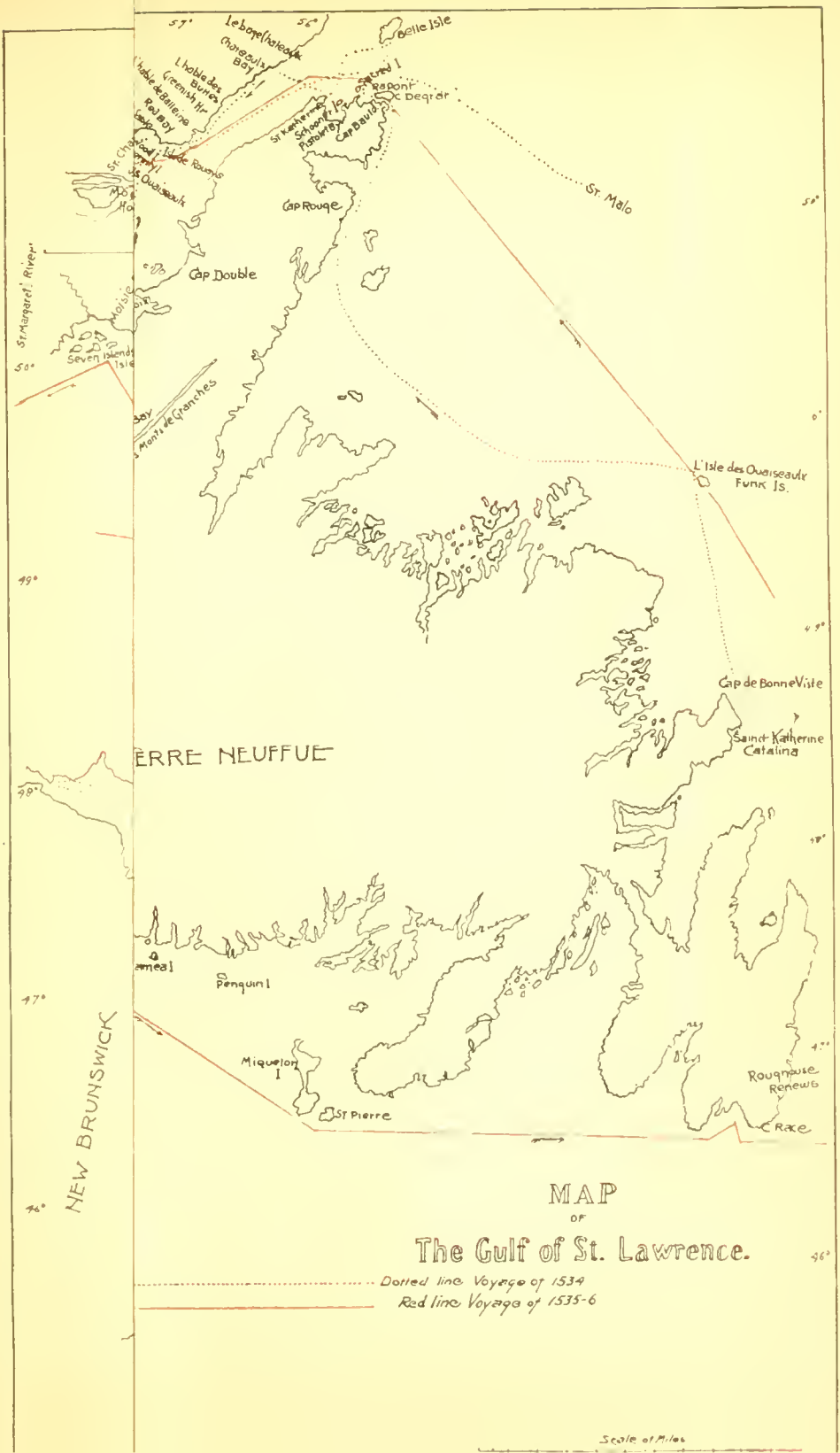
1536

April 16	Sunday,	Easter Sunday, 1st day of the year. The river clear of ice.
" 21	Friday,	Dom Agaya visits Cartier with strange savages.
" 22	Saturday,	Donnacona visits Cartier with large number of savages.
" 28	Friday,	Cartier sends Guyot to Stadaconé.
May 3	Wednesday,	Festival of the Holy Cross. A cross planted. Cartier seizes Donnacona.

May 5	Friday,	The people of Stadaconé bring provisions for Cartier's captives.
" 6	Saturday,	Cartier sails from River St. Croix.
" 7	Sunday,	Arrives at the Isle of Filberts.
" 15	Monday,	Exchanges presents with the savages.
" 16	Tuesday,	Leaves for the Isle of Hares, but is forced to return to the Isle of Filberts by storm.
" 22	Monday,	Reaches Isle Brion.
" 25	Thursday,	Festival of the Ascension. Reaches a low, sandy island.
" 26	Friday,	Returns to Isle Brion.
June 1	Thursday,	Names Capes Lorraine and St. Paul.
" 4	Sunday,	Fourth of Pentecost. Names harbor St. Esprit.
" 6	Tuesday,	Departs from the harbor of St. Esprit.
" 11	Sunday,	St. Barnabas Day. At Isles St. Pierre.
" 16	Friday,	Departs from Isles St. Pierre and makes harbor at Rougnouse.
" 19	Monday,	Leaves Rougnouse and sails for home.
July 6	Friday,	Reaches St. Malo.

THIRD VOYAGE, 1541

May 23	Monday,	Cartier leaves St. Malo with five ships.
Aug. 23	Tuesday,	Arrives before Stadaconé.
" 25	Thursday,	Lands artillery.
Sept. 2	Friday,	Sends two of his ships home.
" 7	Wednesday,	Sets out for Hochelaga.
" 11	Sunday,	Arrives at Lachine Rapids.



MAP
OF
The Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Dotted line Voyage of 1534
Red line Voyage of 1535-6

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